

Newsweek

February 4, 1991 \$2.50

INSIDE
PULLOUT MAP OF
THE WAR ZONE

HARD DAYS AHEAD

**A Brutal War
on the Ground?**

**The POWs: Torture
and Torment**

**Saddam's
Environmental
Terror**



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A vibrant photograph of a group of people riding a roller coaster at Magic Kingdom. The riders, including several young women in the foreground, are wearing Mickey Mouse ears and are laughing and cheering with their arms raised. The roller coaster car is orange and yellow. In the background, there are large, jagged rock formations and a misty atmosphere. The sky is clear and blue.

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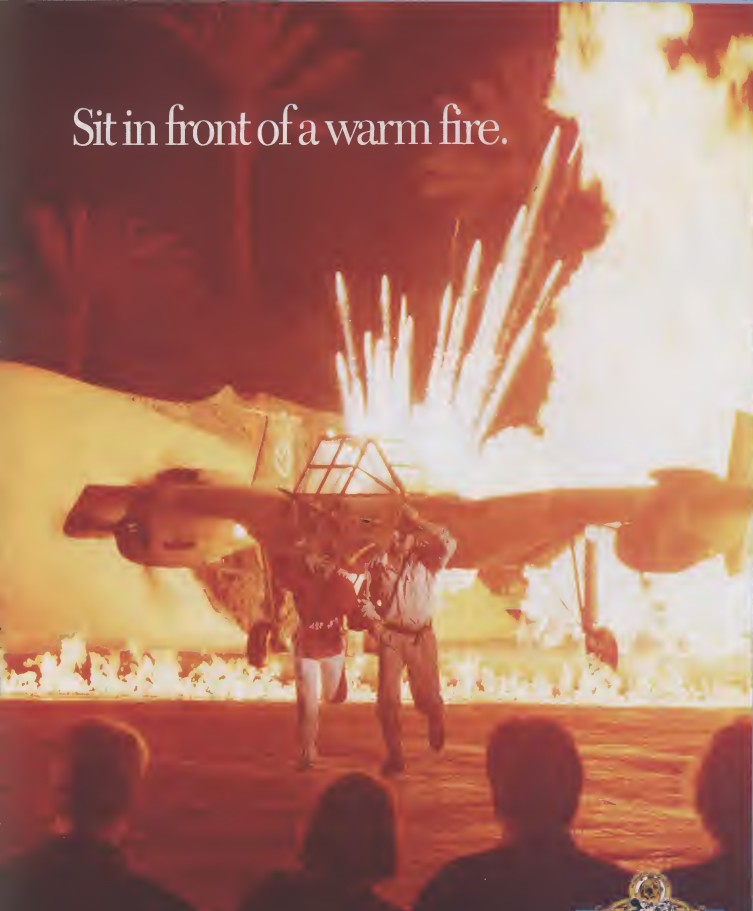
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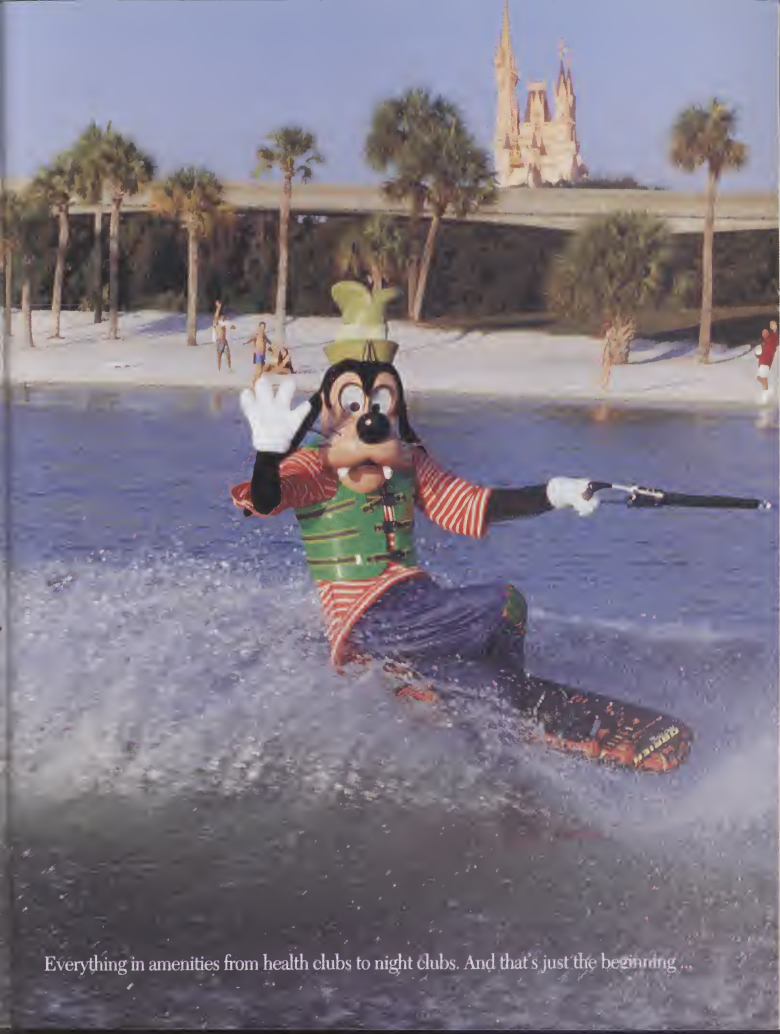


A scenic view of a beach with a sailboat, palm trees, and a train in the background. The sailboat has a rainbow-colored sail and is on the water. The train is white with red stripes and is on an elevated track. The beach is sandy and has several palm trees. The water is blue and has some white foam from a wake.

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Hard Days Ahead



Guarding the wreckage of an Iraqi Scud in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

THE WAR DESERT STORM

The war ground into its second week amid lowered expectations. Victory would take time, U.S. officials said. Meanwhile, allied firepower was unable to stop Iraqi Scud attacks or environmental terrorism. Angry at abuse of

prisoners of war, George Bush turned the war into a campaign against a "sick" Saddam. **Page 20**



Gen. Colin Powell gives a briefing

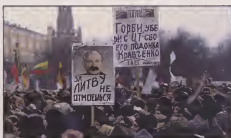


Antiwar protest in New York City

The wars within: antiwar groups protested in Washington and San Francisco but debated what the movement's message should be. The media—catalysts for the public's mood swings on the gulf—were caught in a "fact gap" with cautious military officials. And analysts tried to gauge the war's cost to the U.S. economy. **Page 58**

THE WAR HOME FRONT

A Message From Gorbachev
Mikhail Gorbachev assured the West that his crackdown in the Baltics did not signal the end of his democratic reforms. George Bush hesitated to do anything that might harm Gorbachev politically, but Baltic tensions and snags in the strategic-arms talks threatened to cool off U.S.-Soviet détente. **Page 68**



Demonstrators protest Moscow's crackdown

THE WAR Desert Storm

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Cover: Photo of Lt. Jeffrey Zaun in captivity, from Iraqi TV, by Andy Hernandez for NEWSWEEK.

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STAR WARS

Forget SDI—
Now It's TMD

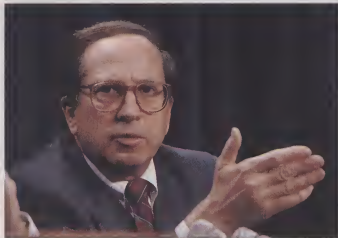
NEWSEEEK has learned that the Bush administration, spurred by the success of the Patriot missile in the gulf war, will try to save the SDI missile-defense program. Instead of Ronald Reagan's dream of a space-based system designed to counter a massive Soviet first strike, administration sources say, Bush will propose a large-land-based Theater Missile Defense Initiative. Its goal: to provide protection against missile attacks by renegades like Saddam Hussein, accidental missile launches and possible launches by warring nationalist groups in the Soviet Union—a growing worry among the NATO allies. Regional TMD systems would guard the United States, Europe and the Mideast, for example. "It's a clear shift away from the old concept of SDI," a Capitol Hill source told NEWSEEEK. Some Democrats, recently briefed on the plan, say that TMD is a compromise which could win congressional approval. ■

MEDIA

Cabana Set

You've seen them a hundred times during the TV-network coverage of the gulf war: those mysterious, bright blue domes looming in the background of correspondents' stand-ups in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. But what are they? An informal NEWSEEEK survey reveals that most people assume the domes are "part of a mosque," "radar stations" or even "traditional Saudi homes." In fact, according to network news officials, the structures are rooftop cabanas for the swimming pool at the Dhahran International Hotel. ■

CBS's Scott Pelley at the domes



Paying the price for his vote to delay the war: The senator

EXCLUSIVE

Shutting Out Sam Nunn

NEWSEEEK has learned that Sam Nunn, the Senate's "Mr. Defense," is being frozen out by the Pentagon because he led the fight to delay the use of force in the Persian Gulf. Senate Democrats say there's been a "major battle" between Nunn and top Defense Department officials over access to gulf war plans. "He feels boxed out," says a Senate defense specialist. Aides say Nunn is having difficulty getting information on the war and some of his requests have been denied outright. Such cavalier treatment of the Armed Services Committee chairman is unprecedented, and Hill sources say Nunn is "furious" at the freeze-out.

Senate Democrats speculate that the White House sees Nunn as a likely presidential candidate in '92 who's not to be trusted because of his vote on the gulf. But it's not the first time the administration has snubbed the Georgia senator. Last November Nunn wasn't told about the U.S. troop buildup in the gulf until an hour before it was made public. ■

■ In other gulf developments, NEWSEEEK has learned that Saddam Hussein's terrorist training camps are not targets of the Air Force's first bombing raids against Iraq. The reason: U.S. intelligence monitoring showed that the

camp, where Saddam had been training more than 100 guerrillas, were mostly deserted. "They graduated a lot of students before the war," says a U.S. intelligence source. U.S. counterterrorism officials have alerted U.S. and allied interests around the world to prepare for terrorist attacks by Saddam's camp graduates. ■

ROUSES

'Recruiting' Secret Police

Wanted: Specialists for immediate deployment in crisis region." That was the newspaper ad placed by an East Berlin radio station checking up on the Stasi, East Germany's defunct security police. More than 300 callers—half of them former Stasi operatives—responded, believing the ad was for the gulf crisis. Seven were interviewed; all but one was prepared to kill civilians. Tapes of the interviews were broadcast verbatim. ■



Blind ad: Old Stasi checkpoint

WALL STREET

Bearish

Last week Wall Street analysts watched with bemusement as people bid up prices of defense-company stocks after each Tomahawk and Patriot hit. (General Dynamics, for example, rose 43 percent in a week.) In the analysts' view, the gulf war doesn't bolster the fortunes of the defense industry. Defense spending is heading down and, they say, this "inventory" war won't change that. But what does excite some analysts is the possibility of Cold War: The Sequel. Instability in the Soviet Union, they figure, could bring hard-line Soviets back to power and with them deepened tensions with the United States. Says First Boston Corp. defense analyst Peter Aseritis, "Iraq has no capability to build new missiles and tanks. That's not the case with the Soviet Union." ■

Will they retool? Tank factory



BUZZWORDS

Acronyms are a staple of war, and the gulf conflict is no exception:

EPW: Enemy prisoner of war.

BDA: Bomb-damage assessment.

ECM: Electronic countermeasure.

EW: Electronic warfare.

IDF: Israeli Defense Force.

LCs: Line crossers, i.e., erstwhile enemies who defect.



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Conventional Wisdom

The CW, normally a reflection of hackneyed insider thinking, has been democratized. With so much TV coverage, everyone in the world can now participate in forming snap

judgments about the war and its macho participants. But they will find that within days, even hours, the CW on the following may well have been made to look foolish.



Bush



Hussein



Jennings



Rather



Kent



Cheney



Cordesman



Powell

LEADERS

Conventional Wisdom

- George Bush** In charge, but out of focus. Do you want Saddam dead or alive?
- Saddam Hussein** Ya, ya, he's a lunatic, but so was Pol Pot. He'll take thousands down with him.
- King Hussein** Wafftheaded potentate may be looking for a house in the Hamptons.
- M. Gorbachev** A Brezhnevite after all. If you want Western Europe, now's your chance.
- Dan Quayle** No Agnewesque alliteration. Attacks ungrammatical. Colin in '92?

COUNTRIES

- United States** Two, four, six, eight, why don't we assassinate? Kill, kill, kill.
- Iraq** Backward Third World country makes it into Super Bowl. '69 Jets revisited?
- Kuwait** Country in ruins while rich exiles boogie in Cairo.
- Britain** Too bad Maggie's gone. It's time for a "Mrs. Miniver" remake.
- Iran** Aya-told-you so about Iraq. Would a cake and Bible open an eastern front?
- Israel** Scuds' biggest victims: The PLO. West Bank is Israel's for next 50 years.
- Germany** Only following sales orders. Zyklo-B: Can't keep a good product down.
- Japan** Thanks for the conscience money. But it's only twice what you paid for MCA.
- Saudi Arabia** Charismatic pilot's double kill furnishes them some face. It's about time.

MEDIA

- Peter Jennings** Peter of Arabia triumphant. Nielsen's Person of the Week. Take that, Safire.
- Bernard Shaw** Sic transit Baghdad. He emerges from "hell," but won't shut up about it.
- Tom Brokaw** Unlike his news division, Duncan the Wonder Horse is not out to pasture yet.
- Dan Rather** Tiffany network looks low-rent. This dog won't hunt.
- Ted Koppel** You're nothing special anymore, Mr. Secretary. Leave the diplomacy to CNN.
- Arthur Kent** Fan clubs form, but NBC's Scud stud should quit incoming theatrics.

MEDIA (CONT.)

Conventional Wisdom

- Charles Jaco** Easy, fellal Your CNN gas-mask dramatists almost gave the world a coronary.
- Wolf Blitzer** Wrongly reported the "decimation" of Iraqi forces on CNN. But cool name.
- Dean Reynolds** For 90 minutes, ABC viewers thought Israel hit by nerve gas. Never mind.
- Fred Francis** At Pentagon, CBS's Martin and ABC's Zelnick also strong. But Fred ahead.
- Sam Donaldson** Hotel fracas with Saudis, advice to buy Raytheon. Hey, this isn't the press bus.
- Peter Arnett** Sure, he's an Iraqi pipeline, but at least he's a good one.

EXPERTS

- Anthony Cordesman** Old CW: Coldly authoritative. New CW: Coldly Pollyannish.
- Michael Dugan** Fired general gets it right: First reports are always wrong.
- Bernard Trainor** Went from military to N.Y. Times to think tank. But not ready for prime time.
- Carl Sagan** Claims oil fires will cause "nuclear winter." Will that ease global warming?

BRIEFERS

- Pete Williams** Huge military asset. Aftable, artful dodger makes less seem like more.
- Dick Cheney** Old Cheney: Dr. Euphoria. New Cheney: Blames media for euphoria.
- Colin Powell** Competent, appealing, impressive and not very forthcoming.
- Riyadh Team** You could learn more staying in the U.S. and reading the papers.

SHIFTING SANDS

- Old CW:** No problem, it'll be over in days.
New CW: Uh, slight problem, it'll take months.
- Old CW:** Saddam can't respond.
New CW: Saddam can respond, but he's waiting for the big strike.
- Old CW:** Anti-force Democrats voted conscience. **New CW:** Hello, Roger Ailes.
- Memo to Tom Brokaw:** Maybe you shouldn't be *that* nice to Arthur Kent.





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Star Wars in the Desert

BY KEN ADELMAN

How ironic that the most maligned weapons of the 1980s have become the most marvelous weapons of 1991. What defense skeptics and arms-control pushers—whose memberships oft overlap—sought to scrap or curb have become the technological superstars of the war against Iraq. We now know high tech works. The supersophisticated systems are the four S's—stealth, sea-launched cruise missiles, SDI-like defenses and space systems. These four rest on the fifth S, semiconductors. As it turns out, the semiconductors not only work, but save lives—our lives, by dramatically reducing Iraqi hits of our aircraft, and Israeli and Saudi lives by reducing hits of their homes. They also save Iraqi lives because they enable the kind of precision attack that limits civilian casualties.

Advances in military wizardry have been awesome, altering the arithmetic of armed assault. Norman R. Augustine, chairman of Martin Marietta and a co-author of mine, calculates that from the Civil War through the Vietnam War, it took anywhere from 10,000 to 100,000 rounds of rifle fire to produce a single enemy casualty. And it took some five tons of air munitions, or three tons of artillery, to destroy a single target.

Now precision munitions enable our troops, really for the first time ever, to both identify *and* hit the right target in a few tries. First came "smart weapons," which our forces need to keep aimed during their entire flight. Then came today's generation of "brilliant weapons," which troops need only shoot in the right general direction. The sensors and minicomputers of a "brilliant weapon" can tell whether it's spotting a tank, tree or bridge, and then guide it to the preselected target. Remarkable film has shown how "brilliant weapons" can hit an Iraqi building on the roof or enter through the front door. We may shortly see how they can clobber an enemy tank on the top of the turret.

Now deemed godsend, each of the four S's were once deemed something peripheral, wasteful or even venal. The "defense reform movement," so fashionable a decade ago, stressed quantity over quality and urged that we procure more weapons of less capability. We've now learned how much quality counts. The initial waves of American assaults were conducted by some of our most maligned military merchandise—Stealth aircraft and sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs). Stealth planes, which evade enemy radar, enabled us to hit Iraqi antiaircraft systems quickly and hard.

Since SLCMs pose insuperable problems in arms negotiations, they were the target of endless assaults during the 1980s. Responding to congressional pressure, President Reagan held an entire National Security Council meeting

in the mid-1980s over whether to include SLCMs in the strategic-arms talks (START). At Reykjavik, we spent much of the all-night session listening to the Soviets insist that SLCMs be banned. During the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Washington in December 1987, Gorbachev called the missiles the key obstacle to a strategic accord. Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, Gorbachev's top military adviser and former chief of staff, pounded me on this issue during a private session in the Kremlin in March 1989. Soviet complaints echoed those heard here. Yet Reagan and Bush persisted with this advanced program. Their persistence paid off. Tomahawk SLCMs have been wondrous, some 90 percent reportedly hitting their mark, even when entering Iraq's most heavily defended areas. They, along with Stealth aircraft, carved a path for our other combat aircraft to fly in safely.

Mors worthy: Neither of the other two S's—SDI or space systems—proved their worth so telegenically. Yet each has become more worthy than ever. SDI—President Reagan's much-mocked Star Wars program—was considered undable if not irresponsible. Un-doable, critics claimed, because it was virtually impossible to knock down ballistic missiles in flight. Irresponsible because having the capability to do so challenged the traditional (though wrong) notion that defenses are destabilizing, while vulnerability is somehow stabilizing.

But Iraqi Scud attacks have shown how valuable the antiballistic-missile capabilities of the Patriots are. (The Patriot is a sort of SDI Jr., based on the principles of the larger model.) The public has grasped the big message that antiballistic-missile capabilities are valuable. They *can* work, especially against the kind of Third World threat we're



The most maligned weapons systems of the 1980s are now a godsend

more likely to face, rather than against an all-out Soviet missile attack.

And the last S—space systems—have been sneeringly called "spy satellites" each time there's an unexplained launch from Cape Canaveral. Yet these dastardly-sounding devices helped furnish superb tactical intelligence on Iraqi nuclear, chemical and other military sites.

Yet even satellites and other intelligence assets have their limits. Our efforts to locate mobile Scud missiles in Iraq—a country around the size of California—prove that efforts to spot all strategic missiles in the Soviet Union—a nation that spans 11 time zones—is utterly impossible. Years of arms controllers' claims that mobile missiles can be precisely counted have been proven myopic.

One final note, while I'm taking my turn: the roundly renounced Reagan military buildup is what's now furnishing most of our war matériel. Without Ronald Reagan's victories during the defense battles of the 1980s, we wouldn't be enjoying such gulf victories in 1991. So we were wise then. And, sure, lucky. Lucky that we still have a cold war military for the first post-cold-war war. Had Saddam moved a few years earlier or later, our arsenal would have been much smaller. He hit us at our peak.

Adelman was arms-control director during the Reagan administration and is now vice president of the Institute for Contemporary Studies. He is coauthor, with Norman R. Augustine, of the newly published "The Defense Revolution" (ICS Press).



1892 WAS A VERY GOOD YEAR FOR COFFEE

¶ It was a time when those in the coffee business did things a little differently.

¶ And so it was in 1892 that a Southern merchant had cause for celebration. His premiere blend of coffee (and some say his own personal labor of love) was about to be renamed after the famous hotel where it had already built a reputation as the special house blend. The hotel, of course, was Nashville's Maxwell House.



¶ Today, it is with great pride (and something of a feeling that there are still folks around with a taste for the way things used to be made) that The Maxwell House Coffee Company would like to acquaint you with 1892™ Slow-Roasted

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¶ 1892™ Slow-Roasted Coffee. A labor of love...from The Maxwell House® Coffee Company.



The Eleventh Hour

I read with amazement and sadness the rules for press coverage in the Persian Gulf ("Will We See the Real War?," CRISIS in the GULF, Jan. 14). The last thing we need is sanitized press coverage. It is important that we absorb the full impact of casualties in order to take responsibility for the carnage. If we can bear to wage this war, then we must be willing to witness its ugly consequences.

LAURENCE O'BRIEN
Clifton Park, N.Y.

...

I was glad to see you address the subject of the nuclear option against Iraq ("The Nuclear Option: Thinking the Unthinkable," CRISIS in the GULF, Jan. 14). If we decide to go to war (and I'm not convinced this is the right decision), I believe we should use every weapon we have available. As a veteran who served in Vietnam, I know that war is not honor and glory; it's fear, pain and death. If we had nuked Hanoi, we probably would not have lost the more than 58,000 American lives we lost through protracted fighting. With my daughter and son-in-law involved in Operation Desert Shield, I don't wish to see another 58,000 lives lost. If the logic to using a nuclear device was valid in 1945, it should still be valid today. Harry Truman, where are you when we need you?

DAVID S. SEITZ
Glen Rock, Pa.

...

If President Bush considers Kuwait's borders worth fighting for, why is it that (as you reported in your Dec. 17 NATIONAL AFFAIRS piece "Like Working Moscow in the Old Days") April Glaspie, the U.S. ambassador to Iraq, "flashed the Iraqi dictator a green light to invade Kuwait" on July 25? Her words to Saddam Hussein were explicit: "We have no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait." Iraq launched its invasion only a week later.

ANNA BELLE LAWTON
Orlando, Fla.

...

A recent survey conducted by the Arab-American Institute found that 83 percent of Arab Americans support the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The great majority of Arab Americans also feel, however, that United States policy in the Middle East has been less than evenhanded. The United States insists on implementing a dozen U.N. resolutions against Iraq, while it has refused to back and even vetoed many more resolutions critical of Israel. If U.N. resolutions regarding the Palestinians are not implemented and if rich oil

MAIL CALL

The Path to War

As the Persian Gulf War approached, many NEWSWEEK readers remained opposed to fighting. Claiming that war would be mostly about oil, one reader ad-

vised American servicemen and -women in the Middle East: "We do not want you to die so that we can live more comfortably than anyone else in the world." Another reader said fighting would make "a thousand points of light go out," and then asked, "If Neil Bush were on the front lines in Saudi Arabia, would the president allow sanctions more time?" Still, as war loomed, several readers rallied in support of the troops. One advised the antiwar activists to "go home, sit in a corner, suck your thumb and think."



countries are not encouraged to invest some of their wealth in poorer Arab nations, the region will remain unstable and, therefore, easy prey for the next Saddam.

FIKRY ANDRAWEAS
Stamford, Conn.

...

The Iraqi people have resolved to fight for the right of Arabs to determine their own borders rather than to accept colonial boundaries. Not to acknowledge that is to denigrate the Iraqis who might have to fight and die for the defense of what they perceive to be part of their country.

SAM LEWIS
Portland, Maine

...

The big shots in Washington who favor war should be the ones to have to break the news to families if their loved ones are killed in the Middle East.

DENISE ARLETT
Gloucester City, N.J.

...

We are now witnessing in the Persian Gulf the tragic consequences of too many Faustian deals. Lethal technologies have been sold indiscriminately—and profitably—around the world. As a result, an arsenal of terrifying destruction has given Saddam Hussein the muscle to commit aggression. It is madness and everyone loses:

those who have sold their souls to become rich, the soldiers whose bodies and minds will shatter in combat, and their loved ones whose hearts will be broken forever.

MARJORIE WERTLEB
Dix Hills, N.Y.

No Access

"U.S. Help for Iraq's Bomb?" (FERISCOPE, Dec. 10) stated that "Iraqi scientists working on Baghdad's version of an atomic bomb may have received advice from America's top-secret nuclear-weapons laboratories." It said a conference sponsored by the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and other weapons labs—an event attended by three Iraqi scientists—granted "access to U.S. expertise" that, according to intelligence officials, may have brought Iraq nearer to developing a nuclear bomb. For the record, all discussions and presentations at this conference were based strictly on unclassified information available in the public domain. Moreover, although your piece said the conference was held in Portland, Ore. (not Livermore, Calif.), the caption ("Access? Livermore Laboratory") to the accompanying photo showing the lab's interior suggested that conference participants may have had access to the lab. That was not the case.

MARY JOY JAMESON
Director of Public Affairs
Department of Energy
Washington, D.C.

Advocate for Austerity

Robert Samuelson's insightful look into America's increasingly thankless role as a superpower failed to consider a grim possibility ("Superpower Swan Song?," INTERNATIONAL, Dec. 24). Until Americans are willing to accept a temporary setback in our standard of living to put our house in order, this country may be forced to serve as a mercenary for those countries on whom we depend to service our national debt. We've lost international respect by wasting our resources and threatening politicians with defeat at the polls when they make tough decisions. A period of austerity would reinforce our economic base and make this generation of Americans aware of how "having it all" came about in the first place.

RICHARD HARDEGGER
Rapid City, S.D.

Trying Times

So this is the terrible recession of 1991 ("Riding Out the Storm," BUSINESS, Jan. 14)? Unemployment is at 6.1 percent, inflation at less than 10 percent and the Suarez family mentioned in your report can't spend \$4,000 at Christmastime as

they did last year. Excuse me if I seem insensitive to Mr. Suarez—the most depressed-looking \$100,000-plus earner I've ever seen—but most other countries would welcome a recession like this!

JIM TRIGGS
Edina, Minn.

Your article suggests that the Federal Reserve's excessively tight monetary policy is the major culprit of the present recession. As a media specialist, I would say that the Fed isn't the only one. The public's fear of recession—which can itself worsen a slump—has been greatly escalated by the way publications such as yours have reported on the economy. It would be refreshing if, instead of emphasizing the negative aspects of these trying times, the media were to take a less dismal view.

RANDAL J. JURKAS
 Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.

Support Public TV!

Mark Lewyn's "Is PBS Really Worth It?" (MY TURN, Dec. 24) underestimates the value of public television. As a result of its cultural, science, drama, public-affairs and children's programs, more people watch public TV than watch the top five cable channels combined. But programming is only part of the picture. Public TV stations are local institutions, deeply rooted in community service. They provide college-credit TV courses to more than a quarter million adults and classroom programming to 29 million elementary and secondary students each year. These stations work with schools, civic groups and social-service organizations to help solve problems ranging from drug abuse to pollution to illiteracy. Viewer support makes up the bulk of PBS funding; but, just as museums and libraries deserve federal support, so too does public television.

BRUCE L. CHRISTENSEN, President
Public Broadcasting Service
Alexandria, Va.

I'd like Lewyn to know that while he sits in Washington, D.C., with his many available cable channels, I sit here in rural Idaho with none. Support public TV!

GERALD SPARKS
Driggs, Idaho

I doubt most Americans would agree with Lewyn's assessment that PBS viewers are "decidedly upscale." Even if subscribers to his local station enjoy a high median income, he should realize that those who contribute financial support make up only a small proportion of our viewers. Out here on the plains and in many other places

across the country, public TV serves a diverse audience that relies on it for informative and thought-provoking programming. Perhaps Lewyn ought to get out of Washington more often if he is going to address such national issues.

DAVE KENDALL, Producer
KTWU
Topeka, Kans.

I find the use of my tax dollars to sponsor public television one of the few remaining examples of worthwhile government spending. Given the much greater amounts of federal money allotted to deficit-interest payments, Pentagon budget overruns and the S&L bailout, PBS offers real returns on a relatively small investment.

JAMES ROBB
Bonita, Calif.

Lewyn's qualms notwithstanding, PBS is important because it's *commercial-free*. As I write, my 2-year-old is watching "Sesame Street" on PBS—free from the influence of the toy manufacturers whose mindless creations glut private-network programming. In fact, not only can I encourage her to watch and learn—I can even enjoy much of what she watches myself.

CYNTHIA A. WALSH
Providence, R.I.

User-Unfriendly?

To make our technological advances more user-friendly, manufacturers need to pay more attention not only to product design, as you suggest ("The Right Button," TECHNOLOGY, Jan. 7), but to the accompanying instruction manuals. As a communications consultant experienced in writing user guides for computer hardware and software, I can attest that, all too often, the manual is put together as an afterthought—and by programmers and engineers, rather than writers. Unless manufacturers produce clear and concise manuals written by professional writers, simpler designs are pointless.

FRANK TYRRELL
Decatur, Ga.

You quote scientist Stephen Beck as saying that "the only piece of technology that the general public has really mastered after the automobile is the telephone." The lesson in this—as well as in our mastery of another machine Beck neglected to mention, the typewriter—is the importance of standardized design. I'm lost whenever my office copier breaks down and I have to use another that has its own idiosyncratic design. A lot of frustration could be avoided if

makers of copiers, fax machines and other modern gadgets could agree on the equivalence of the uniform typewriter keyboard.

IRWIN J. SCHIFFRIS
Rochester, N.Y.

Many bewildered friends have asked for my help in programming their VCRs. Usually they sheepishly admit that they have not bothered to read the instructions. It's unreasonable to buy a device with 101 features and expect it to be equipped with a two-page leaflet and only a couple of control buttons. While more attention to the design of machines would be welcome, consumers can usually understand and operate them once they read the manual.

PETER GRAHAM
Santa Monica, Calif.

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The Nights Are Full Of Stars.



LOS
 VEGAS
 ALWAYS ON THE MONEY

Overheard

"If there's a bullet out there with my name on it, that's OK—it's my time. It's the ones that say 'To whom it may concern' that worry me."

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Defense Department
responding to questions about the use of
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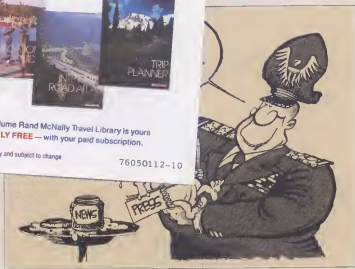
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se lawyer for Doris Triplett
found not guilty by reason
trying to kill her three sons

llar. But if I see one of them,

anic MAJID MOHAMMED,
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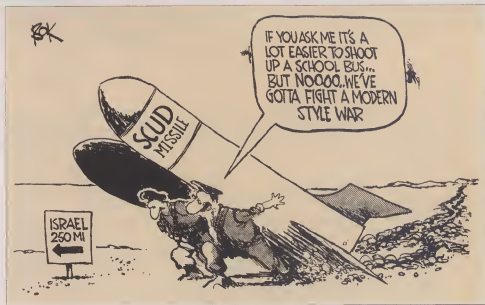
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"I've called it Martin Luther Coon Day all along and I think I have a right to do that because my last name is Coon. How does that grab you?"

Petersburg, Alaska, Mayor **D. A. COON**, on why he thinks Martin Luther King Jr. Day should not be an official holiday

"We just don't discuss that capability. I can't tell you why we don't discuss it because then I'd be discussing it."

Defense Department spokesman **PETE WILLIAMS**, responding to questions about the use of air-launched cruise missiles in the Persian Gulf

"Well, he does have a very dynamic zero-defect program."

Lt. Gen. **THOMAS KELLY**, on reports that Saddam Hussein has killed his top Air Force commanders because of insubordination

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Florida State University professor **CHIP WELLS**, on why he's writing a thesis entitled "Like a Thesis: A Postmodern Reading of Madonna Videos"

"She thought her teddy bear was telling her what to do. She thought she was commanded to kill."

JAMES KLEIN, defense lawyer for Doris Triplett of Camden, N.J., found not guilty by reason of insanity after trying to kill her three sons

"I am in need of even one dollar. But if I see one of them, I will drink his blood."

Egyptian auto mechanic **MAJID MOHAMMED**, on allied pilots. The Iraqis have offered \$20,000 rewards to any Arabs who turn them in.




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Newsweek

The Rising Storm

In the war's second week, Saddam proved a foe of both ruthlessness and resilience: he rained missiles on Israel, paraded POWs on TV and unleashed environmental terror



Firing a Patriot at an
Iraqi Scud over Tel Aviv





MAURIZIO COCCIOLONE
Capt., Italian Air Force



JOHN PETERS
Flight Lt., Royal Air Force



JEFFREY N. ZAUN
Lt., U.S. Navy



ADRIAN NICHOL
Flight Lt., Royal Air Force



CLIFFORD M. ACREE
Lt. col., U.S. Marines



MOHAMMED MUBARAK
Lt. col., Kuwaiti Air Force



GUY L. HUNTER
Warrant off., U.S. Marines



HARRY M. ROBERTS
Capt., U.S. Air Force

THE WAR DESERT STORM

The face of war—frightened allied POWs and the dazed survivor of yet another Iraqi missile attack on Tel Aviv—became visible to all Americans last week. These images were among the latest evidence of Saddam Hussein's willingness to use every means at his disposal—terror weapons, blatant propaganda, even environmental catastrophe—to counter the technological superiority of the United States and its allies. It may be true, as historians say, that the tendency to demonize the enemy is a regrettable byproduct of modern war. But in the escalating conflict along the Persian Gulf, it seemed, the enemy was willing to demonize himself.



Evacuating an injured woman after
an Iraqi Scud hits Tel Aviv

Americans Hunker Down

As the initial euphoria over the war subsides, the public settles in for some hard days ahead

THE WAR DESERT STORM

This isn't Grenada, this isn't Panama and it isn't the Super Bowl, either. It's war, the real thing, and it's going to last for a while. Time and again—in news flashes from the Persian Gulf and in plain talk from Wash-

ington, D.C.—that message was driven home to the American public last week. Dick Cheney and Colin Powell said it in their joint briefing to the restive Pentagon press corps. George Bush implied it in his comments from the White House. And Martin Fitzwater, the president's ever-earnest press secretary, said it most directly of all. "There are going to be ups and downs, there are going to be enemy victories, there are going to be enemy surprises, there are going to be days when we'll see allied losses," Fitzwater said. "We need to get into a frame of mind that allows us to accept those reverses and surges. We need to get on kind of an even keel in terms of our public psyche."

Hunker down, America. The spectacular successes of the first few days—of war-as-video-game and of an enemy too confused or too incompetent to fight back effectively—were over. Slowed by a combination of bad weather and artful defensive tactics by the Iraqi high command, the jaunty dominance of the allied air offensive seemed to be bogging down in a blur of conflicting perceptions. The military numbers game—sorties flown, targets hit—competed in the public mind with dramatic images like those of frightened, obviously brutalized POWs who parroted clum-

sy propaganda lines at the command of unseen interrogators. Total-immersion television coverage offered little more than tight-lipped generals, evasive flacks and reporters getting shirty with the brass. Are we ahead or are we behind, and how do we know the score? The daily visuals—Scuds in Tel Aviv, Scuds in Saudi Arabia, Patriot missiles streaking upward in the gloom—looked awful, whether or not they had military significance.

On the home front, at least, all wars eventually become background noise of a dreadful sort. You do what you have to do—answer the phone, take out the garbage—with one ear on the media and your mind on the business at hand. So many prisoners, so



J. DAVID AKE—AP

The wreckage of an Iraqi Scud missile on a street in Riyadh (above), Powell at a Pentagon briefing



GILLES BASSIGNAC—GAMMA LIAISON

OPINION WATCH

Changing Expectations: A Newsweek Poll

Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Bush is handling the situation in the Persian Gulf region?

86% Approve 12% Disapprove

Now that the United States has taken military action against Iraq, do you think the fighting will continue for:

| | CURRENT | 1/17-18 | | CURRENT | 1/17-18 |
|-------------------|------------|------------|----------------|------------|------------|
| Just a few days | 1% | 6% | Several months | 63% | 36% |
| A matter of weeks | 11% | 38% | A year or more | 18% | 7% |

For this Newsweek Poll, The Gallup Organization interviewed a national sample of 751 adults by telephone Jan. 24-25. The margin of error is plus or minus 4 percentage points. Some "Don't Know" and other responses not shown. The Newsweek Poll © 1991 by Newsweek, Inc.

many airstrikes, so many MIAs. You wait, simultaneously hopeful and anxious, listening for news of distant events (a new offensive, some diplomatic breakthrough) that may or may not be decisive. The war is going pretty well, not so well or maybe just going on. Bit by bit and little by little, the gulf conflict was headed that way last week. The first rush of euphoria was over and the watching nation, to judge by the latest Newsweek Poll, was taking Marlin Fitzwater's advice: fully 63 percent of a national sample said the war would probably last several months, and only 11 percent still believed it would be over in a matter of weeks. That was indisputable evidence of the national hunkering down: just one week earlier, according to Newsweek's previous surveys, 44 percent of the public thought the war would end more quickly.

The operative and all-important ques-

tion was, where was Saddam Hussein? What was he up to, what did he want, how would he play the few cards in his hand? There seemed little question that the Joker of Baghdad had more tricks up his sleeve. Allied fears of some sort of "rope-a-dope" strategy—a shrewdly timed kamikaze attack by the unseen Iraqi Air Force, for example—were rising. The White House, meanwhile, deemed Iraq's first ventures in public-opinion manipulation to be hearteningly dismal failures. The POW footage, like Saddam's ghoully appearance with the children of hostage families last fall, instantly backfired, at least in the West. The ham-handed attempt to depict a bombed-out biological-weapons plant near Baghdad as a baby-formula factory seemed destined to fail, too. And the tactical decision to release what may yet become history's biggest oil slick—an environmental catastrophe that made the Exxon Valdez spill look like a Sierra Club nature walk—was a public-relations disaster for Saddam. "We couldn't count on a better script to define an enemy," said a senior White House staffer. "The guy's done everything we need."

Done everything, that is, except to give George Bush what he wants most of all: a quick, relatively painless victory in the gulf. After almost two weeks of ducking and shadowboxing, Iraq seemed surprisingly well prepared to drag the United States and its allies into a longer war—a war that Saddam Hussein could not possibly win, but one that nevertheless could produce high



COURTESY ABC

Saddam was biding his time and protecting his military assets

casualty figures and test American resolve. That was evident in the emerging pattern of Saddam Hussein's counterattacks—the mixture of propaganda, terrorism and cunning refusal to meet the technological superiority of the West head-on. It suggested that Saddam's true strategic targets were the hearts and minds of Americans back home—the national will or, as dictators have always seen it, the soft underbelly of democracy. You Americans, as they like to say, have no stomach for war.

Saddam Hussein may yet find out whether that is true—and so may George Bush, and so may all the rest of us. From Washington last week came clearer signals that the Bush administration intends to destroy Iraq's offensive military power. That seems to be at least some escalation in what was once a war of limited aims—forcing Iraq out of Kuwait and restoring the Kuwaiti government. It means that George

Bush, like his adversary, is prepared to go to the limit. The implications for allied military strategy may or may not be significant: It is up to Stormin' Norman Schwarzkopf, the commander of Desert Storm, to find a path to victory that avoids the horrendous casualties of an assault on the dug-in Iraqi forces defending Kuwait. But Schwarzkopf—and Bush—may be forced to choose between a quick war and a costly war. Grinding down the Iraqi Army with air power alone could take months. Victory on the ground, on the other hand, would well raise U.S. and allied casualty totals into the thousands.

That now is the ultimate question: how many lives is the nation prepared to spend to stop this dictator in this distant war? There are parallels from the past. In Korea and Vietnam, U.S. public opinion swung decisively against the war when total casualties (wounded and killed combined) reached approximately 50,000. Saddam Hussein, biding his time and protecting his military assets, is gambling that history will repeat itself. Bush, for his part, clearly believes the Iraqis can be beaten without reviving the ghosts of Vietnam. But that, too, is a gamble. It is a gamble for Bush himself, for the notion of America as world policeman and for all the men and women who now stand in harm's way in the Persian Gulf. And last week, one could surmise, Saddam and his commanders were trying to devise new and terrible ways to raise the stakes.

TOM MORGANTHAU



CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—DOD POOL

Lines in the sand: U.S. Marines in Saudi Arabia map out a possible battle plan against Iraqi ground forces

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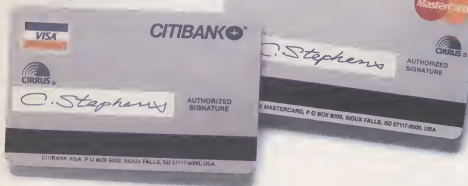
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R. D. WARD-DOO

Tightknit group: The commander in chief at a meeting with Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, Cheney and Powell in August

Bush and the Generals

The president will have to make the hard calls

It has become conventional wisdom that American presidents should leave war to the generals. Megalomaniacal dictators like Hitler might blunder in as *Feldher*—lord of the field—but in a democracy, the wise commander in chief delegates to the professionals. Presidents who forget this maxim—like Lyndon Johnson trying to run the war from his Tuesday lunches at the White House or Jimmy Carter micromanaging the disastrous Desert One rescue operation over an open phone line from the Oval Office—have come to regret it.

George Bush seems to have learned from the mistakes of his predecessors—and from his own experience. During the aborted coup attempt against Manuel Noriega in October 1989, Bush was overwhelmed by raw intelligence data pouring into the Oval Office. According to White House aides, he is determined to take a more hands-off approach toward the operational side of the Persian Gulf War. When the time came to prepare a war plan against Iraq, Bush laid down some general markers: he banned the use of nuclear weapons and ordered the military not to attack civilian targets, particularly mosques. But when Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and Gen. Colin Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, presented the president with the final script, he did not change a word.

If the war aim is total victory, there is little reason to bridle the war horse. But

ultimately wars are political acts, and the chief political leader cannot escape responsibility for their conduct. Even in World War II, Franklin Roosevelt had to play an active role, countering his generals on numerous occasions. Abraham Lincoln fired his generals until he found one—Ulysses S. Grant—who would fight the Civil War aggressively enough.

In the gulf, Bush will have to make the hard call on if and when to begin the ground war. He may have an even more difficult choice on how to end the war. If Saddam survives but his Army is decimated, can Bush declare victory? Or must Saddam be destroyed as well? Bush enjoys a close relationship with his chief military adviser, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs. Powell is politically savvy. Indeed, during one briefing last week, Pentagon brass were heard to mutter that their general seemed to be running for president. But Powell is still an Army man who believes that winning wars is about taking territory. There is a risk that Powell and the other ground-war champions in his chain of command will be a little too eager to storm the Iraqi redoubts before the Air Force has finished softening them up.

Bush's strategy council is a small and tightknit group. Only Secretary of State James Baker expressed any reservations

about going to war, and he signed on to the final decision. Such unanimity gives the administration a firmness of purpose, but the absence of dissenters is troubling. The one doubter about a ground war, Air Force Chief of Staff Michael Dugan, was fired for taking his views public. Even Lyndon Johnson kept an in-house critic, George Ball, during the Vietnam War. During the Cuban missile crisis, the debate in John F. Kennedy's circle of advisers, the "Ex-Com," was spirited and sometimes heated. Kennedy reached out to former statesmen for advice. Bush has so far stuck with his inner circle, national-security adviser Brent Scowcroft, Cheney, Powell and Baker.

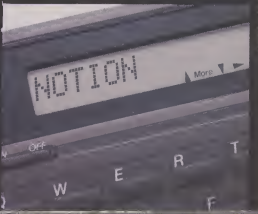
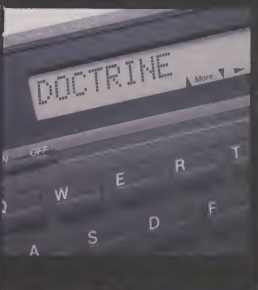
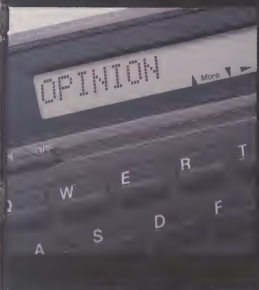
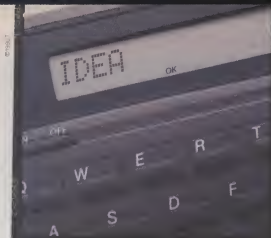
The most successful civilian war leaders do not substitute their military judgment for that of the professionals, but they constantly question and probe. Even Grant had to answer Lincoln's constant queries. Winston Churchill was particularly effective at cutting through military cant.

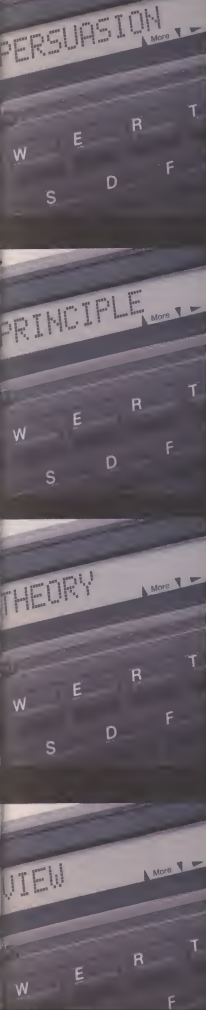
Told by an admiral that an operation was justified by British naval tradition, Churchill replied that "the only traditions in the British Navy are rum, sodomy and the lash."

White House aides say Bush has demanded almost hourly briefings on the progress of the war, and on at least one occasion he vetoed a bombing mission. (Administration officials will not elaborate on why.) Bush has been no pushover during the gulf crisis. Certainly, he has shown that he can stand up to Saddam. The time may come when he may also have to stand up to his own generals.

EVAN THOMAS with THOMAS M. DEFRANK and ANN MCDANIEL in Washington

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Hard Days Ahead

'First we're going to cut it off, and then we're going to kill it'



The euphoria wore off quickly. Last week the United States and its allies settled into the ugly business of grinding down Saddam Hussein's military machine. As stormy skies finally cleared enough for the work of war to go on, targets all over Iraq were pounded methodically by airstrike after airstrike. But the ultimate target, still largely untouched, was the Army that lurked in occupied Kuwait and southern Iraq, more than half a million men and 4,000 tanks, anchored by a war-hardened elite, the Republican Guard. "Our strategy to go after this Army is very, very simple," Gen. Colin Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said at a Pentagon briefing. "First we're going to cut it off, and then we're going to kill it."

It still wasn't clear just how difficult that job would be—whether the allies could defeat Saddam's Army mainly from the air,

THE WAR DESERT STORM

at relatively little cost, or whether their ground forces would have to wage bloody trench warfare to dislodge the Iraqis from a maze of fortifications in and around Kuwait. So far, the land war amounted to only a few skirmishes, and the massive air campaign was producing mixed results. Iraq's

air defenses were badly damaged, its radars mostly silent and its warplanes in hiding below ground. Allied attackers roamed the sky virtually at will, with fewer losses than might have been expected from a training exercise. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, the allied commander in the Persian Gulf, said he was surprised by the enemy's "total lack of aggressiveness. Given his rhetoric before," said the general, "we thought we'd be in more of a fight."

Yet for all their success, the allies could not prevent Saddam from lashing out when he chose to, with barrages of Scud missiles and a threatening spill of oil into the gulf.

In addition, the air campaign was behind schedule and sometimes off target. A progress report:

■ Originally planned to last nine days, the air war had slipped by at least a week because of bad weather and the diversion of planes to search for Scud launchers. "We lost momentum, and the Iraqis had time to get their breath back," complained a senior U.S. official.

■ "The bomb-damage assessments have not been as encouraging as the public has been led to believe," an allied intelligence source told NEWSWEEK. Iraq was repairing damaged airfields, roads and bridges much faster than the United States had anticipated. And after the first full 24 hours of pounding the Republican Guards, their combat potential was "degraded" by only 5 percent, according to another source.

■ Despite allied precautions, Iraqi civilian casualties were higher than either side had acknowledged so far, sources said, though no precise figures were available.



TODD BUCHANAN—DOD POOL

U.S. satellite pictures showed heavy damage to a civilian area in the southern city of Basra, apparently caused when a bombing run on an air base overshot its target.

■ Air Force officers predicted privately that the loss rate for allied warplanes will increase this week and next as the focus shifts to low-level attacks on Army positions bristling with surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) and thousands of antiaircraft guns. "Any pilot will tell you," Powell said, "that the real danger is guns." British Tornado attack planes, which flew low-level missions from the start, had much higher casualty rates than the Americans.

■ Nonetheless, the overall picture was promising. Powell said the allies had "achieved air superiority" over the entire theater of war. Iraq's nuclear, biological and chemical-warfare facilities were badly damaged. Its two nuclear reactors, Powell said, were "gone, they're down; they're finished."

"Soon will come the moment of truth when the Americans must decide if they are ready to pay the price of ground fighting," said Yehoshua Saguy, a former head of Israeli military intelligence. But the delay in the air war had a side effect that was beneficial both militarily and politically. It gave the allies the option of postponing the start of the land war, in the hope that continued bombing might mean lighter casualties later on. Schwarzkopf could launch a surprise attack at any time. Most sources predicted, however, that the air war would go on for another couple of weeks, or even longer, before the land campaign begins in earnest. "We aren't going to start a ground

An F/A-18 takes off from the carrier *Saratoga*, antiaircraft fire in Baghdad

ANDY HERNANDEZ FOR NEWSWEEK

OPINION WATCH

War Aim: Saddam Out

At what point do you think the United States should stop military action against Iraq?

10% After Iraqi military capability is destroyed

25% After Iraqi forces actually leave Kuwait

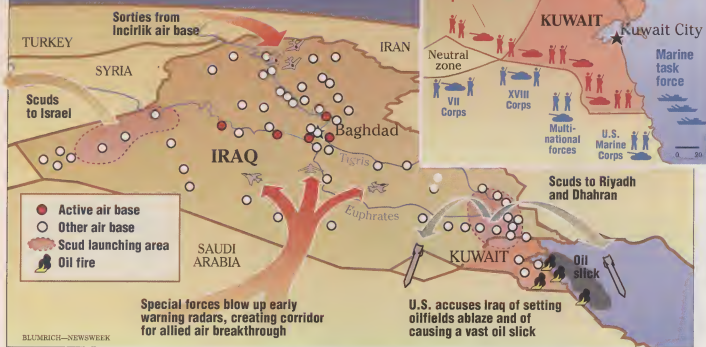
47% Only after Saddam Hussein's government is removed from power in Iraq

From the NEWSWEEK Poll of Jan. 24-25, 1991



The Gulf War: Week Two

The aerial battering of Iraq and Kuwait continued, somewhat hindered by cloudy weather. Inset: troop distribution at the center of Desert Storm.



war until they're damn near dead anyway," said a senior White House official. "We're going to roar B-52s down there until you can't see the sky."

Already the Iraqis were being forced to fight partly deaf, dumb and blind. "We have significantly degraded Saddam's communications ability, to the point where he has to jury-rig another one," Schwarzkopf said in an interview with *Newsweek's* Melinda Liu and other reporters. "We've completely destroyed his integrated air defense. Any time he has to fire surface-to-air missiles, he has to ground every one of his airplanes, because he has no radar control whatsoever over the SAMs. All he's doing is shooting them up in the air, sort of like you shoot a shotgun at a bird, hoping that one of the pellets will hit."

The weak point in Iraq's early-warning net was discovered on its southern border, where there was a gap in radar coverage. As Stealth aircraft and cruise missiles made the first attacks, U.S. commandos were helicoptered into Iraq through the gap. They widened it by blowing up two early-warning radar stations. This created a radar-free corridor for attack planes, some of which fanned out to destroy the air-defense control center and radars in Iraq's southern sector. The radars were all point-

ed south, and the warplanes swung around to the north to attack them.

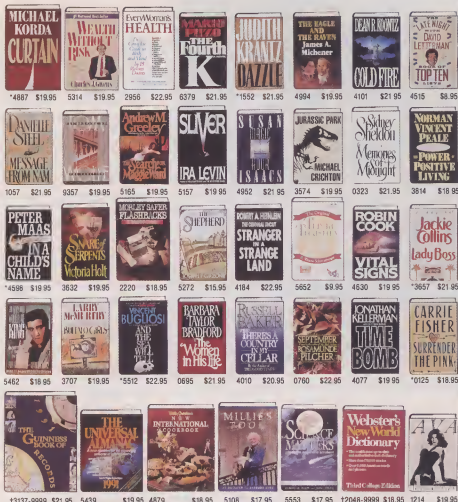
The few Iraqi planes that came up to fight last week were quickly dealt with. A Saudi pilot, Capt. Ayedh al-Shamrani, became the first allied airman to shoot down two Iraqis. Flying an F-15, he pounced on a pair of French-made Mirage F-1s as they flew south loaded with bombs and air-to-surface Exocet missiles. The Saudi's kill made compelling television. When his cockpit tape was replayed, viewers could see the cross hairs lock on and the Side-winder missiles fire. They could hear the pilot announce excitedly: "First target, splash! Second target, splash!"

Zero defects? By refusing to come out to fight, the Iraqis preserved most of their Air Force: more than 750 warplanes, by Pentagon estimate, out of 809 that began the war. Some thought Saddam was not pleased with this display of helplessness. Interfax, an independent Soviet news agency, said the commanders of the Air Force and the anti-aircraft defenses had been executed for failing to fight harder. The agency attributed its information to "well informed" sources in the Soviet Defense Ministry; the ministry and the Iraqis denied the report. American officials knew nothing about it, but they pointed out that the Soviets still

have some military contacts with Iraq and might be in a position to know. Given Saddam's record for ruthlessness, the story did not sound implausible. "He does have a very dynamic zero-defects program," said Lt. Gen. Thomas Kelly, the Pentagon operations chief.

Iraq did not admit to the full extent of damage it suffered in civilian areas, presumably for fear of demoralizing its own people. But it did begin to denounce the Americans for hitting individual civilian targets, such as a purported "baby-milk plant." U.S. officials identified that facility as the country's main biological-weapons factory. According to one source, the evidence included "human-source material."

Overall, the Pentagon continued to estimate that its air-war missions were 80 percent successful. But what did that mean? By late last week, the allies had flown 20,000 sorties. Of those, only 11,000 or so were combat sorties; the others were flights by tankers, transports, radar planes and other nonfighting aircraft. And most of the 11,000 combat sorties did not attack ground targets. Only about one plane in four carried "strike munitions." The others were responsible for missions like air cover, electronic jamming and reconnaissance. For the approximately 2,700 sorties



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that were meant to deliver bombs or missiles, success meant "that the aircraft got to its target, delivered its ordnance and returned," Powell said—the definition that produced the 80 percent figure. But how many of those 2,000 sorties actually *damaged* the target? One source said that while there was "room for a lot of interpretation," the satellite pictures suggested an effectiveness rate of "somewhere between 66 and 75 percent."

Saddam's efforts to retaliate were militarily insignificant. The release of oil into the gulf might interfere slightly with Marine landings on the Kuwaiti coast when the land war begins. It could reduce the allies' water supply by knocking out desalination plants. But those are logistical problems; Americans are adept at solving them. The allies also charged Iraq with setting fire to Kuwaiti oil installations, sending up columns of thick, greasy smoke. The allied command said the smoke screen would not interfere with air operations. Smoke-screening was a game two could play. Sources told NEWSWEEK that at least one of the fires—in oil-filled trenches along the Kuwaiti border—was set by the allies. The reason: Schwarzkopf wanted to mask his preparations for a ground offensive, just in case the Iraqis were still receiving intelligence from Soviet satellites.

Lightning storm: The Scud attacks were a more serious distraction. Although they posed no significant danger to allied forces, the threat to Israeli and Saudi Arabian civilians compelled Schwarzkopf to divert important resources to the search for the launchers and the 500 or so extended-range Scuds remaining in the Iraqi arsenal. "I'd frankly be more afraid of standing out in a lightning storm in southern Georgia than I would be in the streets of Riyadh when the Scuds come down," grouched the general.

Civilians at ground zero were less nonchalant. "I don't understand why the fixed launchers were not knocked out," said Aharon Levan, a general in the reserves. "I don't want to blame the Americans, but it's not mission impossible." Patriot anti-missile missiles managed to shoot down or deflect most of the Scuds, though lives were lost in the process. Israel



Captain al-Shamrani shouted 'Splash!' after his double kill

LAURENT REBOURS-AP

continued its policy of not retaliating for the attacks, sparing America's Arab allies any discomfort. A poll showed that 80 percent of the Israeli public supported the decision not to strike back at Iraq. Forbearance had its price. Last week Israel asked Washington for \$3 billion, the amount it said it had lost from the war, and \$10 billion more to pay for resettling Soviet Jews.

A U.S. diplomat called that "nothing less than blackmail." But Israel's courageous restraint under Iraqi attack had a strong impact on U.S. public opinion. In the latest NEWSWEEK Poll, 64 percent of the Americans surveyed said their sympathies were

more with Israel than with the Arabs, compared with 42 percent last October. The poll also suggested that Americans may not object too strenuously if Israel resists any effort to settle the Palestinian issue once the war is over. In the latest sample, American sentiment for pressuring Israel into a compromise dropped from 60 percent in October to 45 percent.

Clash of arms: The postwar era is not yet at hand. The conflict may well get uglier and more desperate before Saddam is beaten. U.S. officials fear he is husbanding his resources—the Air Force, surviving stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons—for what a Bush aide calls "one great move... to try to change the character of the war." Says Oxford historian Robert O'Neill: "I think his strategy now is to accept defeat but make it a Pyrrhic victory for the allies." The allies could deny Saddam that satisfaction by delaying the land war indefinitely. "We can refuse to give him the great clash of arms," says O'Neill. "We can besiege him in his southern positions... until his troops run out of food, supplies and water."

The trouble with a long, uncertain siege is that it might enable Saddam to survive the war with some or most of his offensive military capability intact. Destroying that power has been a high-priority (if unstated) goal for Bush all along. If Saddam had withdrawn from Kuwait by Jan. 15, Bush would have had no choice but to leave the Iraqi Army and arsenal untouched. Now that war has begun, the president intends

to dismantle what one of his top advisers calls "the Saddam machine." Whether Saddam himself survives the war is not the main point. The objective is to eliminate Iraq's ability to overwhelm its neighbors ever again. That will be a delicate operation; completely destroying the armed forces, especially the Republican Guard, might lead to the dissolution of Iraq and then to another round of perilous instability in the Persian Gulf region. But destroying Saddam's ability to disturb the peace is the goal that George Bush intends to pursue, on the land as in the air.

RUSSELL WATSON with JOHN BARRY, DOUGLAS WALLER, THOMAS M. DEFRANK and ANN McDaniel in Washington, MELINDA LIU in Riyadh, THEODORE SPANGER in Jerusalem and DANIEL PIRESEN in London

A Bag of Tricks

As he showed last week by fouling the Persian Gulf with oil, Saddam Hussein is capable of surprises outside the conventional conduct of war. Other possibilities:

■ **Kuwaitis could be the next "human shields."** Iraq holds up to 8,000 prisoners near Basra, the southern military hub and a prime allied target.

■ **Iraq could try to foil an amphibious landing by throwing high-voltage power lines in the surf—a tactic used against Iran.**

■ **Low-grade troops in Kuwait could mount a suicide assault against fixed Marine positions, backed by long-range artillery armed with poison gas.**

Light Near the End of the Tunnel

It may take two weeks to install the last units

BY COL. DAVID H. HACKWORTH

This must have been what World War II was like, perhaps how it was after the breakout from the Normandy beaches in 1944. Certainly what I watched last week was unlike anything I saw in Korea or Vietnam. Saudi roads leading to Kuwait were jammed with military vehicles, mile after mile of tank transporters, gasoline tankers, troop and ammunition carriers. Overhead was the continuous clatter of C-130 transport planes and cargo helicopters. Everything was moving toward the thunderous confrontation with the Iraqi enemy just a few miles over the border.

This week I traveled well over a thousand miles on military supply roads and around allied front lines, from just inside Kuwait, north of Khafji on the far eastern, coastal edge of the allied lines, to Hafar al-Batin on the far western edge of the line, 200 miles across the desert to the west. I formed two conclusions: first, I would not want to be under the allied assault when it comes; second, that assault is at least a week away.

When I first went out last week, the rains up on the Kuwaiti border were still soaking the roads, leaving vast pools of water across what in some cases were little more than tracks in the sand. I saw trucks that had crashed head-on, others mired up to the axles in mud, even a 65-ton M-1A1 Abrams tank capsized onto its turret after the transporter slipped off a softened road shoulder. The tank had the name "Whispering Death" painted on its barrel. Still, when you move tens of thousands of vehicles you have accidents even in perfect weather. The number of wrecked vehicles I saw was no more than I would expect on L.A. freeways.

Meanwhile the movement of men and matériel went on. If ever there was proof that the allies have total air superiority this was it. "Isn't that a great target?" Sgt. Harry Tenney of an Abrams-tank platoon asked, gesturing at vehicles crammed nose to tail to the horizon. It was true. I shudder



MARK PETERS FOR NEWSWEEK

An Abrams tank turned turtle in the loose sand of Saudi Arabia

to think what a couple of Iraqi planes could have done to that column on a strafing and bombing run. But, said Tenney, "fortunately, Saddam has been de-aired."

Logistics is what the U.S. military does best. But this operation also tells me something else, and that is that the Americans and their allies still don't have everything in place to start a major land war. All week I saw combat elements of half a dozen divisions on the road, as well as essentials like bridging equipment being moved forward. To get these various bits and pieces in place is going to take a couple of weeks.

The Kuwaiti special-forces team sat like actors on a set waiting for filming to begin. The leader was an affable U.S.-trained colonel; he gave his first name as Yacoub, and I found him sitting beside a small bird cage containing two canaries he'd named Sergeant and Corporal. They were, said the colonel, his early-warning system against gas attack. If either one falls off his perch, he joked, "I'll know it's time to put on my mask."

This is not to say that nothing is happening along the borders. Already there is skirmishing going on, and I would expect to see an increasing number of cross-border raids and artillery exchanges. And, of course, the air war goes on unrelentingly. Early in the week I crossed into Kuwait from the border city of Khafji with a man from a Kuwaiti special-forces unit. I heard the prolonged thunder of B-52 strikes going in about 25 miles to the north. Much closer was the rumble of repeated tactical airstrikes and the freight-train roar of 16-inch shells from an American battleship over the horizon. In this environment, the widespread

stories of Iraqi defections and surrenders don't surprise me. The Iraqis are taking it on the chin and giving nothing in return. It is one thing to fight under enemy fire, knowing you have some sort of way to defend yourself. It is quite another just to hunker down and have death rain on you.

No gloom: Overall, what I saw this week contradicts the stories of gloom and doom I have started to see. The Iraqis in Kuwait are cut off and helpless—I don't count firing a few dozen Scuds as fighting back. I don't often agree with the military establishment, but Defense Secretary Dick Cheney was right when he joked he had seen a headline **THE WAR DRAGS ON** after only one week of fighting. As engineer Sgt. Larry Harris from Oshkosh, Wis., told me, "If we're not ready now, when will we be?"

We certainly will be ready in a week or two. But I am still hopeful that we will not need to use this vast ground force. I remain convinced that the air attack is blasting the Iraqis into the sand. I hope that the American public—and by that I mean everyone from the man in the street to the man in the White House—is going to have the patience to let the Navy and Air Force continue their pounding before committing ground forces. A month is a short time against a dug-in enemy, and we have time on our side, as long as everyone's nerve holds. We are not looking at a long war here, but you don't knock over a million-man army in days. The less we rush, the fewer our casualties. In Vietnam, I never could see the light at the end of Gen. William Westmoreland's tunnel. Here, I can.

The author retired from the U.S. Army in 1971. He is in Saudi Arabia on special assignment for NEWSWEEK.

THE WAR DESERT STORM



Saddam's Ecoterror

The Iraqi oil flood creates environmental hazards and military obstacles

An oil-coated cormorant struggles to pull itself onto the rocky Kuwaiti shore; after raising its head a few inches and its wings a few times, it drops back into the gulf. Birds at sea shake their oiled heads every few seconds, trying in vain to free themselves from the crude; uncounted scores wash onto Kuwaiti beaches, lying dead in groups of two or three. Dolphins struggle to lift their snouts above the suffocating slick. The black muck rolling in with the surf is so thick that it gurgles and groans like an ugly batter being sucked down a kitchen drain.

Giving a horrific new meaning to the term "oil war," Saddam Hussein last week ordered a massive attack against the Per-

sian Gulf itself. The Iraqis opened the pumps at Sea Island Terminal, a supertanker loading dock almost 10 miles off the Kuwaiti coast that can discharge at least 100,000 barrels of crude a day. They also pulled the plugs on five Kuwaiti tankers, loaded with 3 million gallons of petroleum, berthed at al-Ahmadi. "This threatens to be more than a dozen times bigger than the Exxon Valdez spill," said Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams. (All told, the Valdez poured 260,000 barrels of crude—10.8 million gallons—into Alaskan waters.) "It is clearly an act of environmental terrorism," President Bush denounced

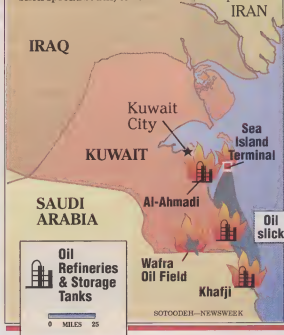
THE WAR DESERT STORM

the ploy as "sick" and "desperate." The Sierra Club called it "an unconscionable act" that "could destroy the gulf for decades."

Then, three days after Saddam opened the taps, the slick burst into something even more hellish. Billows of black smoke streamed up from flames around the tanker terminal, hovered above the gulf and swept over Iran. There was no word on who had torched that part of the slick. Over the weekend the White House dispatched a team of experts to advise the Saudis on fighting the spill, but so far the only real attempts to lessen the disaster were a few lonely Saudi crews bat-

Iraq's Crude Weapon

Iraqi troops torched oilfields and released more than 6 million barrels of crude from Kuwaiti tankers and an offshore terminal. The slick spread south, toward desalination plants.



Oil-coated cormorants struggle in the Khafji surf as a war between nations turns into an attack on nature
BILL GENTILE FOR NEWSWEEK GREG ENGLISH/AP



ting the edges of the slick with chemicals.

American military sources speculated that Saddam unleashed the gusher to foil any amphibious liberation of Kuwait. Pentagon officials said the slick would not prevent such an assault, and Bush declared, "There is no military advantage to him whatsoever in this." Still, the allies would have to factor the oil flood into their battle plans. The vents on amphibious tractors that would carry soldiers onto the beaches would be fouled by oily water. Unless special piping were added to the vents, soldiers would have to assume exposed positions atop the vehicles to manually clear the intake and exhaust valves.

Over the weekend the blaze seemed to be burning itself out. That still left tons of oil on the waters—and the fear that the Iraqis could torch it to deter allied naval operations with a wall of fire. But that's no easy trick: spread-out oil is hard to ignite. If it did burn, smoke would not cause serious problems for the allies' "smart" weapons, Desert Storm's commander, Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, told NEWSWEEK. Only Maverick air-to-ground guided missiles, whose infrared homing devices could be fooled by the heat from burning oil, and the BGU-15 bomb that is guided by TV images or infrared radiation might be hampered. "It's not a war stopper at this point," concluded Maj. Gen. Robert Johnston, chief of staff of the U.S. Central Command, at a briefing in Riyadh.

Economic havoc: Even if the spill does not stymie military operations, it could hamper the Saudi economy. The gushing crude threatened to clog the intake valves of power plants, which use gulf water for cooling. Because petrochemical and other industrial plants also cool their machinery with sea water, the spill might "create havoc within the gulf's economic life . . . bringing to a halt normal economic activity," says Richard Golob, publisher of Golob's Oil Pollution Bulletin.

The spill could close down desalination units on which many gulf nations—and the troops of Desert Storm—depend for drinking water. Of the three government-run desalination plants in Saudi's Eastern Province, the Khafji facility had been shut on Jan. 15 because the civilian population it served had been evacuated just before Desert Storm; by the weekend the ooze of oil had reached the Khafji intake valves. In another week or two it could reach the Jubail plant, which pumps 800,000 tons of water daily to supply Riyadh and its industrial satellites. Although oil booms ring the plants—a legacy of decades of spills in the gulf—tar balls and submerged oil can slip underneath. American troops need the water not only for drinking but for decontamination after a chemical attack. The Army has dug wells in the Saudi desert; still, says a Pentagon source, "if they foul up the



Corralling crude from the Valdez with a containment boom

plants, it puts a crimp on our water supplies." Saudi crews were fighting the edges of the slick with chemical dispersants, but "we are not sure how effective we will be in containing it," says Abdul Hamid Al-Mansour of the Saline Water Conservation Corp. in the Eastern Province. "We may have to shut the plant down."

For many environmentalists, the disaster was a horrible realization of their worst fears. Ever since Bush ordered troops to the gulf, scientists have warned of the havoc that tanks could wreak on desert sands, the lethal rain that could splatter down after raids on chemical- and biological-weapons factories. But all along the most likely disaster involved oil—and Saddam's track record showed he had no compunctions about using it. In 1983 Iraqi forces launched a rocket attack on Iran's Nowruz offshore drilling platform and flooded the gulf with 2 million barrels of crude. That left a trail of dead animals and decimated the population of endangered sea cows, whose habit of nuzzling their young and slapping their tails on the sea surface inspired ancient mariners to spin tales of mermaids.

Mangrove stands: The immediate victim of last week's sabotage was the gulf ecosystem, one of the world's most fragile. Because it is so shallow—an average of 110 feet deep—and nearly enclosed, it takes a staggering 200 years to flush out. In contrast, Prince William Sound receives all-new water every few days. Thus the gulf spill is not subject to the natural cleansing that helped

mitigate the Valdez accident. The slick will contaminate sea-grass beds that provide food for marsh birds, ruin rare mangrove stands, and cripple the gulf's multimillion-dollar shrimp and fishing industry.

The eight-mile-wide oblong of crude headed for the sandy beaches of the southern gulf. There, the lack of energetic wave action means that oil washing up on shore will remain, forming viscous tar balls and mats, at least until detergent-wielding cleanup crews arrive. As the lighter fractions of spilled oil evaporate, a tarry mass

will remain behind and sink to the bottom, says Mark Pokras of Tufts University, who has treated animals hurt by oil spills. "Much of the tar will sink, destroying coral reefs and other bottom-dwelling marine life—the food for fish and wildlife," he predicts. The ultimate effect, says Brent Blackwelder of the environmental group Friends of the Earth, will be like "paving the gulf in asphalt."

Brown mousse: The principal lesson of the Valdez fiasco was that a terrible oil spill becomes catastrophic unless quickly contained. The longer floating oil

mixes with water and gets whipped by wind, the more it emulsifies, turning into a goopy brown mousse that resists containment and destruction. Yet despite Valdez, and despite Saddam's threats, the gulf nations are ill-prepared to battle a massive, intentional release. Gulf spills are normally the responsibility of the Gulf Area Oil Companies Mutual Aid Organization, with 10 member companies from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the smaller emirates. But the group has nowhere near enough containment booms, skimmers, barges and other cleanup equipment in or near the gulf to contain a gusher like the one Saddam has uncorked. Even if it did, responding to a spill is not a high priority when Scuds are flying; sometimes it is outright impossible. "(The spill) is in enemy territory," said chief of staff Johnston. "We can't just go in and shut it off."

The best way to fight spreading crude is to do what cars and furnaces do with oil: burn it. "That's the most efficient way

Sooty smoke billows from Khafji refineries hit by Iraqi artillery

GEORGES NEGILLON—GAMMA-LIAISON



How to Clean Up a Spill

The world unfortunately gets plenty of experience in cleaning up oil spills. A few methods of dealing with the crises stand out, but each poses problems of its own:

- **Burning works so long as the slick is thicker than one millimeter; as the slick spreads and thins, it will not sustain flames.**
- **Chemical dispersants can break up a spill (and the Saudis are using them) but they must be used before the oil mixes with too much water and air.**
- **Containment booms corral oil so it can be skimmed or burned. But most of the world inventory of fireproof boom is in Alaska.**

to get rid of a lot of oil very fast," says Alan A. Allen, an oil-spill specialist in Seattle who worked on the Valdez cleanup. He burned more than 20,000 gallons on the second day of that accident. But an oil slick sustains combustion only if it is at least one millimeter thick; often it spreads out to less than that. The first task, then, is to surround the slick with fireproof booms and corral it. A military airlift could ferry the 20,000 to 30,000 feet of fireproof containment booms from Alaska to Saudi Arabia in less than a day—but at the end of the week, almost all

the containment booms in the entire world remained in Alaska. Once the crude is contained, it could be ignited by helicopters. With a properly controlled burn, says Allen, "you're looking at 95 to 98 percent elimination."

By the end of the week the slick covered more than 250 square miles. The Pentagon did not know how much more oil remained in the al-Ahmadi storage tanks that feed into the Sea Island Terminal, but there was frightening evidence that Saddam had more ecoterror in mind. Several months

ago intelligence satellites spotted the Iraqi Army extending an oil pipeline from the northern Kuwaiti oil network part way across the bridge to Bubiyan Island. "Our concern is that they'll slick the whole northern Persian Gulf," says a Marine officer. That would give Saddam little military advantage. But it would turn a war between nations into one against the planet itself.

SHARON BEGLEY with C. S. MANEGOLD in Doha, MELINDA LIU in Riyadh and DOUGLAS WALLER and MARY HAGER in Washington

Will Sabotage Cancel Springtime?

If Saddam unleashes and torches another gusher, the environmental effects will be even more damaging than last week's sabotage. Within hours of opening the spigots at Sea Island Terminal, Iraqi troops set ablaze dozens of wells in the Wafra field, a joint venture of Texaco and Kuwait; Iran reported being pelted with greasy black rain the next day. If Saddam ignites the 363 producing wells in Kuwait, as well as the oil in tankers and storage facilities, the blaze could produce "hundreds of thousands of tons" of sulfuric and nitric acids, says nuclear physicist Abdullah Toukan, science adviser to Jordan's King Hussein.

The greatest threat is that airborne soot from petroblazes might cancel springtime in the Northern Hemisphere and stifle the Asian monsoons on which millions of people depend for their very lives. This would happen if the soot rose high enough to alter the way the sun's energy is absorbed: usually, the ground soaks up heat, creating warm air whose rise creates the turbulence that drives weather. The height of the soot cloud depends on the fires' temperatures and size, as well as on how much fuel combusts. Scientists can't predict with certainty what will happen, but in the worst case a huge conflagration that shoots soot three to five miles up would cause solar heat to be absorbed high above the ground. That would dampen atmo-



Minas Sudd refinery and depot could become an ecoweapon

spheric circulation, says William Chameides of the Georgia Institute of Technology, raising "a vast potential for climate changes over six to 12 months." The British Meteorological Office concludes that cooling "could locally reduce rainfall [during] the summer monsoon."

Snowy summer: If oil-fire fighters are unable to reach the blazes, there is enough oil in the depots and wells to burn for three to six months. In that case, the world could suffer another "year without a summer." After the 1815 eruption of the Tambora volcano in Indonesia, crops failed massively and New England had snow in July. Atmospheric scientist Richard Turco of the University of California, Los Angeles, calculates that burning the Kuwaiti oilfields and depots

would produce cooling akin to that after a volcanic explosion. After 12 to 25 weeks of burning, 1.5 million tons of smoke would be in circulation, says Turco. A soot cloud half as large as the continental United States would form, decreasing solar energy by 20 percent and lowering average temperatures 4 degrees Fahrenheit. That could bring frosts in spring and freeze crops.

If the soot does not rise high, the effects would be less severe. In one computer simulation done under a Pentagon contract, atmospheric physicist Richard Small of Pacific Sierra Research Corp. in Los Angeles calculates that blowing up all of Kuwait's producing wells would produce 15,000 tons of smoke every day they burn. Based on data from accidental oil-well fires,

the black cloud would rise no more than one kilometer, he says. Igniting refineries would send up an additional 90,000 tons of smoke, which might shoot as high as three kilometers. Blowing over the Persian Gulf, Iran, Pakistan and India, the gunk would fall out as greasy rain over 30 days. "The effects would be similar to the Yellowstone fires of 1988," says Small, "a decrease in solar radiation of maybe 5 percent and a slight cooling regionally."

Frigid dark: What seems unlikely is a nuclear-winter-like freeze. In 1982, researchers led by Carl Sagan of Cornell University and Turco concluded that smoke and dust rocketed into the atmosphere by nuclear blasts would block out sunlight and plunge parts of the earth into frigid darkness. But such severe cooling would occur only if smoke were lifted into the stratosphere, says climatologist Stephen Schneider of the National Center for Atmospheric Research. In the wintertime, sunlight is not strong enough to do that. But if the war and the petroleum fires drag on into spring, then the extra solar heat "could be sufficient to loft the smoke into the stratosphere," says Schneider. "This is an experiment we'd be better off leaving inside the computers." Based on his actions in the gulf last week, it seems clear that Saddam regards the environment as fair game for what would turn into a dangerous experiment.

SHARON BEGLEY with MARY HAGER in Washington

Rope-a-Dope in Baghdad

The allies are fighting a war of weaponry; Saddam Hussein is waging a war of nerves

Saddam Hussein has been preparing a long time for a long war. If there were no other clues to his strategy, his hideout might well tell the story. Built a decade ago by the Germans, this *führerbunker* lies more than 50 feet beneath his Baghdad palace. It boasts such luxuries as a sauna and four-poster bed with a red silk canopy; such precautions as walls built to withstand atomic blasts—there are even toilets tested for radiation. According to one German report, 25 people "could live for a year without care" in its fortified recesses.

But even before word leaked of this Strangelovian paradise, there was little mystery about Saddam's basic plans: to draw out the conflict as long as possible and break the political will of his enemies. Those who know Saddam best believe there is a fundamental difference in the way

Washington and Baghdad see the conflict. For the coalition, this is a war of weapons. For Saddam it is a war of nerves. Arab envoys who met Iraq's president over the last six months came away stunned by his cool. "He is the calmest human being I have ever seen," says one. "He told our people long ago the first hit would be [a score] for the Americans," says a senior Jordanian official. He believed he could "absorb" the strike "and continue doing so for two or three weeks. Then it's his chance: the land battle. That's when the coffins start going to the United States and Congress starts reacting. He is waiting and controlling himself for that moment. He is very eager for [it]." A senior American official agrees: Saddam's strategy in the war is like Muhammad Ali's "rope-a-dope" tactic. The former heavyweight champion would let his oppo-

THE WAR DESERT STORM

nents wear themselves out before he began fighting in earnest.

Saddam's shelter is not the only installation built to take the best the coalition can throw at it. Much of his Air Force remains in hardened bunkers buried in the sand. Built by a Belgian firm in the 1980s, "they are stronger

than NATO shelters," according to Kenneth Timmerman, a Paris-based defense analyst. As long as his planes are operational, the chance remains that at a critical moment he could launch an all-out attack against the allied forces or Israel.

But it's not in conventional combat that Saddam is most likely to surprise the coalition. "You will not be able to define the battlefield, the kinds of weapons that will be used in the showdown or its duration," he declared as the fighting began. The dumping of millions of gallons of oil into the gulf, apparently with the aim of disrupting Saudi Arabia's water desalination program, is but one example. Explosions in the last two weeks aimed at targets from

Sanctuary Underground: The Hussein Hilton

When *Götterdämmerung* in the gulf comes for Saddam Hussein, he can follow tradition, spending the final days in his underground bunker. But two German magazines reported last week that Saddam's hideout is a lavishly decorated 12-room complex. In 1981, at a reported cost of \$65 million, Saddam hired a civil engineering firm in Düsseldorf, West Germany, to build the nuclear-bomb-proof shelter underneath a guest house of the presidential palace in Baghdad. The main entrance is a three-ton steel door; the impenetrable walls are lead-lined concrete, six feet thick. In a situation room, Saddam can follow the war's progress on 24 TV screens and address his people from an adjacent broadcast studio. Interior designers from Munich furnished the family quarters with crystal chandeliers and plush carpets. Why did the Germans do it? "In 1981," says Georg Niedermeier, director of the German company that later incorporated the engineering firm, "Hussein was a relatively good guy in the West for waging war against the fundamentalist devils in Iran."



Paris to Manila suggest a terrorist offensive already may be underway. Debra Van Opstal, a fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, warns that even if the war ended tomorrow, terrorist plots set in motion now could continue erupting for months or years to come.

One of Saddam's obvious aims is to drag Israel into the war and destabilize Washington's relations with its Arab allies. So far, he has failed. But even if Israel remains restrained, the Scud attacks on Tel Aviv dramatize Saddam's argument that his fight in the gulf is "linked" to the fight for Palestine, and the course of the conflict has obscured for many Arabs the original cause of the crisis. "Kuwait just seems irrelevant now," says a moderate Jordanian who fled Iraq's August invasion.

Ironically, Saddam may be hoping for attacks on Iraq's population centers and its religious shrines. He claims allied bombers already have hit the Shiite holy cities of Karbala and Najaf, and despite the Bush administration's desire to spare innocent lives, "collateral damage" is mounting after more than 20,000 sorties. Last week Iraq began releasing videotapes of civilian casualties, including wounded and dead children. Saddam's random Scud attacks are an invitation to retaliate in kind, his treatment

of captured pilots an incitement to vengeance. But one Arab official warns of what would follow: "If the United States attacks civilian targets, you will lose the war. It will be seen as the infidels slaughtering Arabs. Saddam can get away with it, but you can't."

Restive voices: Iraq's president openly takes heart from the U.S. antiwar movement. Americans, he notes, have "taken to the streets in the tens of thousands to denounce [President Bush's] aggressive policies." But it's on the streets of the Muslim world that Saddam sees his main chance. Already there is a chorus of restive voices in key countries allied to the United States, and he is doing his best to conduct them toward a crescendo.

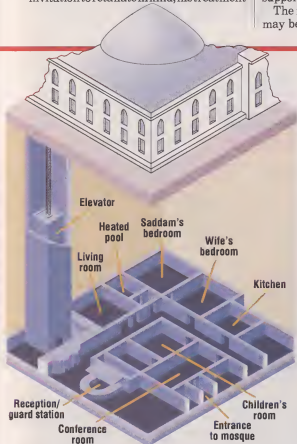
Egypt's powerful Muslim Brotherhood has roundly condemned the war. Other Egyptian opposition parties are following suit. President Hosni Mubarak has postponed the reopening of high schools and universities to prevent them from erupting in protests. Turkey's President Turgut Ozal continues as a faithful U.S. ally, but his government has been racked by dissent and resignations. The leaders of Jordan and Iran have tried to remain neutral, but their parliaments seethe with anti-American proclamations and calls for holy war supporting Saddam.

The most vulnerable of Iraq's opponents may be Syria. Its newfound alliance with

Washington is based on President Hafez Assad's personal hatred of Saddam, his need for funding and his fear of being drawn into a war he can't control. But Saddam is doing what Assad has only talked about: taking on Israel and its American backers. More than 40 Syrian intellectuals and artists braved the wrath of the secret police in Damascus last week to sign an open letter supporting Iraq. Even some of Assad's top officials are left in a quandary. "I venture to confess the overwhelming joy I felt when I heard the news about Iraqi missile attacks on Israeli targets," declared Defense Minister Mustafa Tlass.

Despite Saddam's stratagems, America's allies probably will stick together. "Assad's a wily old fox who wouldn't have taken this stand if he didn't feel he was in control," says François Heisbourg at London's International Institute for Strategic Studies. But David Kimche, formerly second in command of Israel's Mossad, warns that the coalition could triumph on the battlefield and still lose the region. If Saddam wins the propaganda war, Kimche wrote last week, the Middle East would emerge "more fanatical, more radical, more extreme and more anti-Western" than ever before. Lying back in his bunker on his four-poster bed, that may be just what Saddam is dreaming.

CHRISTOPHER DICKEY in Amman



SOURCE: BILD AM SONNTAG

JARRED SCHNEIDMAN



Hunkering in the Bunkers

Saddam Hussein's forces excel at digging in. Underground fortifications shield planes, tanks and Iraqi soldiers from attack, requiring pilots to make more precise hits. The primary allied weapon against these defensive positions is the B-52G, supported by antitank aircraft.



Planes: Sheltered in steel-cased concrete hangars with a missile-thwarting buffer wall



Soldiers: Hunkered down in a network of fortified bunkers connected by a system of tunnels

B-52 Bomber carries up to 40,000 lbs. of conventional ordnance

Gatling gun

A-10 Tankbuster carries up to 16,000 lbs. of free-fall or precision-guided ordnance



Bomb bay holds concussion, cluster and other bombs



Tanks: Buried in the sand with turrets uncovered for use as antiaircraft artillery

JARED SCHNEIDMAN

Saddam's Few Good Men

Fortification and patience are the hallmarks of the Iraqi Army's elite Republican Guard

The Pentagon is trying mightily to drive a stake through Saddam Hussein's heart—his Republican Guard, which spearheaded the invasion of Kuwait. This crack group of eight armored, infantry and special-operations divisions—up to 150,000 men—is “the heart of [Saddam's] military capability and his political power,” as Defense Secretary Dick Cheney put it. Cripple the Guard from the air, says allied logic, and ground success follows. Equally important, the Iraqi dictator loses the keystone of his domestic political support. “They’re the force that’s kept Saddam in power all these years,” the Desert Storm commander, Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, told *Newsweek* in Riyadh last week. “If they’re destroyed, the likelihood of Saddam remaining in power is very slim.”

If only it were that simple. A week's worth of round-the-clock carpet-bombing by B-52s had yet to produce meaningful attrition of the guards in their crescent-like fortifications along the Kuwaiti border just inside Iraq (map, page 43). Repeated poundings—accompanied by A-10 tank-buster attacks on Iraqi forward positions near the Kuwait-Saudi border—hadn't “really done severe damage to the Republi-

can Guard,” conceded the chief of staff of the U.S. military's Central Command, Maj. Gen. Robert B. Johnston. “The concussion of the [B-52's] bombs picks you up and throws you around like a rubber ball,” says a U.S. Army colonel who happened to be near American B-52 airstrikes in Vietnam. “It's devastating to have this happen to you. But you can't bomb them into surrendering. It's going to come down to getting them out in the old-fashioned way.”

Personal force: It's not only tenacity that sets the Republican Guard apart from the rest of the Iraqi Army. Its soldiers are often college-educated and highly motivated. They are fiercely loyal to their president. Small wonder: the Republican Guard originated as Saddam's personal bodyguard, a politically reliable force in a country where the preferred method of leadership succession is violence or the threat thereof. Most Guard officers are members of the Baath Party, which has become so “Saddamized,” said Iraq expert Prof. Amatzia Baram of Haifa University, that loyalty to the party is now indistinguishable from allegiance to the leader.

Loyalty has rewards. The Guard has the

THE WAR DESERT STORM

best-equipped and best-paid soldiers in the Iraqi Army. They enjoy special housing privileges and death benefits. Officers wear specially tailored parade uniforms, and in better days their spouses took tea with Saddam's wife. Their children qualify for university scholarships. Even when the

rest of the Army was short on supplies, the Guard was flush with food and ordnance. “There's no comparison between the Republican Guards and the way the frontline troops get treated,” said Schwarzkopf.

There's no comparison in the way they fight, either. Upgraded from a single division to an Army corps in the latter stages of the Iran-Iraq War, the Guard grew into a powerful and flexible counterattack force. Thanks to Soviet training, they are masters of fortification, from which they employ their hallmark tactics combining armor, artillery and air support. The method derived from the early years of the eight-year war with Iran. Defending the southern port city of Basra against Iranian siege, the greatly outnumbered Iraqis built a vast complex of earthen berms positioned in lines perhaps a quarter of a mile apart. They called it the “iron ring.” The ring included a road system for repositioning forces, and a network of cement tunnels connecting heavily fortified bunkers. They were ingeniously booby-

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THE MIDDLE EAST SINCE 1945



Since the end of World War II, the Middle East has been in a constant state of crisis. Four times, Israel and its Arab neighbors have gone to war. In the aftermath of the 1967 Six Day War, the Israelis occupied the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula. After the 1978 Camp David accords, Israel returned the Sinai to Egypt, but the West Bank has remained at the heart of the volatile "Palestinian issue." In 1980 Iran and Iraq began a bitter and bloody war that lasted until 1988. Oil-rich Kuwait poured billions of dollars into the Iraqi war effort.

Kuwait: The Flashpoint



trapped, too, with mines, water and vast quantities of barbed wire.

The idea was to entrap the enemy. When Iran attacked in July 1982, the Iraqis feigned a retreat. As Iraqis flocked into the "killing zone" between the first and second lines of fortification, armored flanking forces closed in around them. This zone was often nothing more than a muddy plain that left the Iraqis exposed to heavy Iraqi artillery fire. It was an effective defense, but a static one. Years of stalemate ensued.

As the war ground on, Iraq developed innovations on this "rope-a-dope" strategy that relied less on unsupported armored assault and more on the Guard's using a combination of infantry, tanks, artillery and air support. Under the direction of Gen. Hussein Rashid al-Wendawi, a hard-charging commander who later became the Army's chief of staff after the Kuwaiti invasion, the Republican Guard also learned to bombard its enemy with chemi-

cal weapons, an efficient way to wreak havoc on Iranian soldiers manning artillery batteries and command centers.

Just this sort of trap awaits U.S. ground troops—but on a grander scale. Heavily dug-in, waiting for American attackers to break through the first of several defensive lines stretched across Kuwait and into southern Iraq, the Republican Guard is armed with long-range artillery and multiple-launch rockets that, according to a U.S. Army War College report, outrange most U.S. systems. Between Iraq's defensive lines and its strategic rear lies the inviting, and relatively lightly defended, target of Kuwait City, bait for the trap.

'Our war': Can the tactic that worked so well against the Iraqis snare American troops? Not unless the Iraqis have developed a biological warhead that causes amnesia. Unlikely to forget Iran's calamitous mistakes, the highly mobile U.S. infantry is more apt to go around or over Iraqi obstacles than through them. U.S. ground troops

will be supported by helicopters—which can attack at night (page 48)—and fast armored transports, as well as by counter-battery radars that can pinpoint enemy artillery and direct missiles and airstrikes to demolish it. There is a world of difference between what the Iraqis faced from Iran and what they now can expect from the arsenal of U.S. arms, close air support and allied air superiority. "When and if we have to fight this ground war," said Schwarzkopf, "I'm not going to fight [Saddam's] war. He's going to fight our war."

Continuous allied bombing may yet decide the outcome of a ground war. It might not sweep the trenches clean of the Republican Guards, who seem hunkered down for the long term. But if allowed to continue long enough, it will cripple their supply lines, giving them the grimmest of choices: emerge, to fight in the open, or starve.

TOM POST with MELINDA LIU in Riyadh, ROD NORDLAND in Cairo, THEODORE STANGER in Jerusalem and DOUGLAS WALLER in Washington

Should the U.S. Try to Kill Saddam?

We're not in the business of targeting Saddam Hussein," President Bush said last week. On the other hand, he added: "No one will weep when he's gone." That straddled one of Operation Desert Storm's most sensitive questions: was the Iraqi dictator's death among allied war aims? The initial attack on Jan. 16 suggested a positive answer: three cruise missiles leveled the presidential palace. And The Washington Post reported last week that a U.S. bomber mission against a site where Saddam was believed to be had been foiled by bad weather. Administration sources denied it. But for the record, the main strategy remained as Gen. Colin Powell described it last week: to hit "the nerve center, the brains of the operation ... coming out of Baghdad."

The disavowals required a bit of hair-splitting. Ultimately, Saddam Hussein personally is the nerve center of the operation. Clearly, Bush wants him out of the way. "Our problem is with this guy who controls the instruments of state violence and we are going after him and those in-

struments," said a top White House official. The problem is that openly going after him would be politically risky. People make elusive targets. The president saw his 1989 invasion of Panama tarnished when Gen. Manuel Noriega slipped undetected into the sanctuary of the papal nunciature. Zeroing in on Saddam also is impractical. Before K-Day, Pentagon planners told Bush they had

as good a chance of killing Saddam by hitting command centers as they would by tracking him.

Internal coup: Saddam has long experience in the art of survival, and allied intelligence assets in Iraq are skimpy. Thus Powell's disclaimer the day after the first attack: Saddam was not a target "per se." The network of hardened bunkers in Baghdad that protects Saddam and

his top aides has proven all but impregnable. The allies don't have conventional weapons big enough to knock the bunkers out. From Bush's perspective, there is a better solution: the wider assault will so ravage Iraq's Army as to spur an internal coup. That would minimize the diplomatic fallout. "We don't want to kill him in such a flame of glory that we fuel his image as a great martyr," said a White House source.

Bush also fears a hunt for Saddam would cost him the moral high ground. The United Nations called only for Kuwait's liberation. Assassination is outlawed under a 1976 executive order. Experts say that as military leader, Saddam became fair game once the war began. But Bush has ruled out a formal White House position on the issue.

Others had no such qualms. New York Sen. Alfonse D'Amato said as he left for Tel Aviv last week that he would urge Israeli leaders to eliminate Saddam. "We could bring the war to a much speedier conclusion," he said. But Washington could only hope that luck would do what policy cannot.

TOM MASLAND and ANN MCDANIEL in Washington



JANA SCHNEIDER—SIPA

Allied bomb wreckage in a Baghdad neighborhood

High Tech in Low Places

The Army's new gear is largely untested

When they hit Iraqi lines, U.S. ground forces will be counting on their own expensive and sophisticated weaponry, but the technological match between them and the Iraqi Army is much closer than it was in the air. Instead of a "Nintendo war" with "smart" weapons, the images from this phase of the battle are likely to be the traditional kind: grueling and bloody.

Thanks largely to the big Reagan defense budgets, the Army has rebuilt itself over the past dozen years, assimilating a new generation of weapons. The Abrams tank, the M-2 Bradley infantry fighting vehicle, and the Apache AH-64 helicopter will be the mainstays of any American-led assault on Kuwait—but they have experienced technical glitches in the past, and their delicate laser targeting systems are all but untested in combat.

■ **Tanks:** The main American battle tank is the M-1A1 Abrams tank. The 55-ton, \$4.4 million machine, which has a 120-mm gun and full nuclear, chemical, and biological-warfare protection for the crew, embodies a trade-off between performance and reliability. "It's fine to say that the M-1A1 is the high-tech tank of all time," Col. Andrew Duncan of the

International Institute for Strategic Studies in London argues. "But it will prove less mobile than its inferior colleagues because it will run out of fuel sooner." The Pentagon claims earlier problems with the tank—including its fragile transmission and its need for "essential maintenance" every 45 miles—have been ironed out. But its powerful turbine sucks in vast volumes of air; it is unclear how its three giant air filters will handle desert dust.

Nevertheless, Western experts give both the M-1A1 and the British Challenger an edge over the Iraqis' Soviet-made T-72s. The T-72's 125-mm gun is bigger than the M-1A1's, but the American tanks have twice the range of the Soviet tanks, two miles. The ammunition the Iraqis will be carrying is unlikely to penetrate the frontal armor of the M-1A1, whereas the depleted uranium bolt fired by the M-1A1 will penetrate the Iraqi armor—though some Iraqi T-72s have been fitted with a night-



BILL GENTILE FOR NEWSWEEK

The view through light-amplifying night-vision goggles

fighting capability, and some of their ancient T-55 Soviet tanks have been given tougher armor and larger guns.

■ **Helicopters:** The U.S. Army's \$11.7 million Apache can range 300 miles from base at a cruise speed of just over 150 mph. It can fly and fight at night, in all but the worst

weather. Its two-man crew is literally encased in high-tech sensors. In the Apache's nose is the pilot's night-vision system, with a FLIR (forward looking infrared) screen and a TADS (target acquisition and designation sight). This sensitive gear—never tried in the heat and dust of a desert—feeds data to the crew's helmets,

where the information is displayed on a screen inside their visors. But the Apache is plagued by maintenance hang-ups, including a chronic problem with desert sand chewing at its rotor blades. That problem has been patched up—literally—by sticking tape over the blades.

The Apache fires the laser-guided Hellfire missile. The laser beam that illuminates the target does not have to be the Apache's own; it can be a beam from another helicopter, a tank, an infantryman, even a passing aircraft. The Hellfire locks onto the laser beam whatever its origin. This means an Apache crew can fire Hellfires from over the horizon, without having to see the targets. The Apache can fire a salvo of up to 16 of the missiles—accurately, as long as dust or smoke from burning oil or "killed" tanks on the battlefield don't confound the lasers. For their part, the Iraqis have some 40 Soviet Mi-24 attack choppers and about 60 French Gazelles—both

outfitted with tank-killing missiles which proved effective in the Iran-Iraq War.

■ **Artillery:** The Iraqis have the edge. They have an estimated 100 South African G-5 155-mm howitzers, which can fire conventional or chemical shells more than 31 miles. These big guns outrange

the United States' biggest artillery pieces. The United States will try to compensate with counterbattery radars that spot enemy artillery the minute it is fired, then guide return fire. That fire will largely come from the Army's new multiple-rocket launcher (MLRS), which can fire a salvo of 12 targeted rockets, and the Copperhead, a laser-guided tankbusting shell. But Marine units that will have to use the Copperhead say they've had little chance to practice live-firing it, because it costs \$50,000 a shell. This is a common problem with high-tech ground weapons; many U.S. troops can only train on

them using computer simulators.

The allies are banking on a great advantage in electronic battlefield reconnaissance. U.S. commander Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf may have more ways to pierce the "fog of war" than any commander in history. The Guardrail plane can intercept and precisely locate Iraqi radio signals. The Quick Fix helicopter, a modified Cobra, can jam enemy communications. Mobile Subscriber Equipment (MSE) works like a giant cellular-phone system linking more than 10,000 radios, with close to 2,000 of them on the move at any time. Schwarzkopf will also have a brand-new Joint Surveillance and Target Attack Radar System (JSTARS) aboard a converted Boeing 707. JSTARS tracks tanks behind enemy lines and can direct air or land strikes against the targets.

Iraq's great equalizers are low tech: trenches, minefields and tank ditches. Allied combat engineers will counter these tactics with pipe bombs that can blow apart a barbed-wire coil, and the rocket-propelled Giant Viper, a long hose filled with explosives that detonates mines as it flies across a minefield. But for all the technology being deployed on both sides, the battle may hinge on the ability of allied commanders—more professional than the Iraqis, but less tested in combat—to think their way around obstacles. Says Henry Dods, the editor of Jane's Intelligence Review, "In the end, it's going to come down to the quality of men."

CHARLES LANE with JOHN BARRY in Washington, JEFFREY BARTHOLET in Jerusalem and RAY WILKINSON in Saudi Arabia

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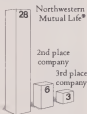
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Torture and Torment

The war against Saddam Hussein will create a new generation of POWs. But how will the captives fare under Iraq's brutal treatment?

The top gun never believes it can happen to him. Not when the engines of his F-14 are roaring in his ears, his instruments all check out and the smart bombs and missiles are ready at his fingertips. Not when the enemy won't even come up to fight. Not even when the antiaircraft batteries open up around the target and the night lights up with tracers. Then suddenly he sees a blinding flash and hears the crump of an explosion. Black smoke fills his cockpit. The plane cartwheels out of control. With a sharp bang the ejection seat hurls him into the darkness at 600 miles an hour. Icy wind tears at his face, and his bones shudder with the jolt as his parachute opens. Then down, down he floats, right into the hands of that enemy he was just trying to kill. "One minute you're a hawk in the skies," shudders an old POW who has made the tumble, "the next you are an ant on the ground."

That fall from martial grace, from the warrior ascendant to the captive under the boot, lends the POW his tragic gravity. You could see it at work last week in the swollen faces, glazed eyes and mumbling voices of the American, British, Italian and Kuwaiti airmen that Saddam Hussein dogmarched through Baghdad and grilled on TV. In staging the performance, Saddam added Iraq's name to a tradition of dishonor that snakes from the Third Reich's Stalag 17 and Japan's Bilid Prison to the POW pens of North Korea and on to the Hanoi Hilton in Vietnam. President Bush, an old Navy pilot who was shot down and rescued in World War II, swore he would never let Saddam get away with it. What Bush knew and Saddam neglected was a truth as old as combat itself. Nations at war can measure their raw power by success at arms; but the more accurate gauge of their moral fiber is the way they treat their POWs.

Now the war against Saddam will create a new generation of POWs. The dictator chose to introduce his first captives with a television special. Wearing their uniforms, seven allied airmen—three Americans, two Brits, an Italian and a Kuwaiti—sat glumly in front of a white wall somewhere in Baghdad. An interrogator questioned and prompted them. He opened with questions about their names, ages, units; then he asked what the fliers thought about



JOHN PETERS
Flight Lt., Royal Air Force

"this aggression against Iraq." Like zombies out of "The Manchurian Candidate," Guy Hunter Jr., 46, a Marine warrant officer, said, "I condemn the aggression against peaceful Iraq," and Jeffrey Zaun, 28, a Navy lieutenant, said, "Our leaders and our people have wrongly attacked the peaceful people of Iraq." Hunter also said, "I think this war is crazy," a fresh, almost believable opinion; but he quickly reverted to parroting the interrogator's favorite word: aggression.

Images told more than any word about the reality on the screen. Out of consideration for frightened relatives, the Pentagon refused to speculate on whether the prisoners had been beaten. Saddam re-

fused to let the International Red Cross examine them. The trauma of ejecting from a crippled plane could have produced the lumps and bruises on the faces of each man. But, in private, Air Force officers who studied videotapes of the interviews didn't believe that. "It's bulls-t," exploded one angry colonel. "They've been through more than cockpit injuries." The prevailing view was that during the first 48 hours after capture, the men had been beaten into attacking the war. "Forty-eight hours is sufficient time," said Arizona's Sen. John McCain, a Navy pilot who spent nearly six years as a POW during the Vietnam War. "With an skillful interrogator, no food, sleep or water, you can get a statement."

The airmen may not have been entirely helpless. McCain believes they were acting like robots to send a message home. Some new evidence supported the theory. The next day the Iraqis hauled forth Maj. Jeffrey Scott Tice and Capt. Harry Michael Roberts. Speaking in chopped syllables like the Tin Woodsman of Oz, Roberts said, "I-was-shot-down-be-fore-rea-ching-my-tar-get." And mocking the interrogator's accent, Tice said he had been shot down by a surface-to-air "meesile." At the Pentagon, officers scrutinized the tapes and detected a clear signal: the two men were reading a prepared script, not speaking of their own free will.

How to make Saddam change his scabrous behavior was a frustrating problem for the Bush administration. Outraged, Under Secretary of State Robert Kimmitt summoned Iraq's chargé d'affaires to the State Department and shoved a copy of the Geneva Conventions into his hand along with a formal diplomatic protest. The conventions, signed by Iraq along with 163 other nations, stipulate that prisoners of war may not be dragged before hostile crowds, beaten or mistreated or used for propaganda. To step up pressure, the department and the White House threatened to put Saddam on trial as a war criminal, but this was a rather moot point until they caught him (page 52). The more serious warning came from Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, who said Saddam would not be able to obstruct the air war by using POWs as human shields.

For Saddam the rewards of abusing the POWs clearly outweighed the risks involved in his tactics. Part of his motive was simply to buck up Iraqis, who had seen thousands of American airstrikes. When Vice Adm. James Stockdale, a retired Navy flier who spent more than seven years as a Vietnamese prisoner of war, looked at the videotapes of Hunter and Zaun, he felt a shock of recognition at the behavior of their captors. "They are trying to show that the knights on white horses are reduced to whimpering wimps," he said. "This is supposed to convince Iraqis to 'go get your guns and we can take these people to the cleaners.'" By flaunting the captured airmen, Saddam has also elected to wage psychological war against American pilots flying combat sorties. His calculation is that when American pilots see their comrades humiliated on TV,

they will lose their nerve on the attack.

For the short term, it is more likely that they will get mad and get even. Pilots flying from airfields in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain watch CNN on local television, and carrier

pilots get cassette videotapes a day or two late depending on the weather. When the hostages came on TV last week, Maj. Scott Hill, a Thunderbolt jockey from Chagrin Falls, Ohio, was sitting in a ready room with 10 other pilots. "We will hit 'em harder and make them pay for every violation of decency," Hill told a pool

reporter. And that didn't mean going off half-cocked. "When we go to war we go to war smart. We don't go to war with our hair on fire and our fangs out."

While most pilots felt that way, there were a few signs that Saddam's little show had made them edgy. Aboard the USS Saratoga, which had lost three planes and had one pilot among the POWs, the crew

the pilot would be in for double mayhem.

If the way Iraq treated prisoners during its war with Iran is any indicator, wounded American pilots can probably expect only perfunctory medical care. American military doctrine calls for immediately evacuating the wounded from the battlefield. The Iraqis take a different approach. As the ordeal of the first American hostages was playing out on TV, an officer at the Pentagon remembered how an Iraqi had once told him Saddam's doctrine: "When you are fighting you fight. When it's over you worry about the wounded."

Solid kicks: Saddam didn't let the Red Crescent inspect his prisoner-of-war camps until his war with Iran was almost over; but a United Nations study reported many head wounds among POWs, with scars, bruises, broken teeth and other signs of frequent brutality. The Iraqis took reporters only to showplace camps where squatting POWs shouting "Death to Khomeini" were obviously prepped on what else to say.

On one such trip to a camp in southern Iraq the guards shouted at their captives in Farsi, who all yelled back in the same language that they were well treated and happy. Suddenly from the back, a young prisoner said in very good English, "They're not treating us well at all; they stole my watch and boots last night." For a moment there was stunned silence. Then the guards dragged the young man off. From around the corner, the reporters soon heard the thump of solid kicks and blows.

The same rules will undoubtedly apply to Saddam's latest prisoners. The Pentagon does not know where he is holding them as human shields and it is too early to say precisely what will happen to them if the war goes on for a long time. But military thinkers have accumulated quite a data bank on POWs from experience in early wars.

According to American Ex-Prisoners of War, a national organization of former POWs based in Arlington, Texas, there were 4,120 U.S. POWs in World War I, 130,201 in World War II, 7,140 in Korea and 766 in Vietnam. The shock for all of them was tremendous. Newly captured prisoners are often wounded. Even if they are uninjured they are suddenly under an enemy's total control. A downed pilot's first feeling tends to be one of inadequacy and remorse. "You think, 'Hey, I must have screwed up or I wouldn't be in this situation,'" says David Hoffman, a retired Navy captain who flew F-4s in Vietnam until he was shot down in 1971. "You have to get at peace with yourself. You have to learn to stay in control."

THE WAR DESERT STORM

OPINION WATCH

POWs: Gauging the Human Costs

Should President Bush order attacks on Iraqi positions even if U.S. or allied POWs are being held at those positions?

62% Yes 21% No

Should President Bush order missions to rescue POWs in Iraq, even if it means additional risk for the POWs and those trying to rescue them?

53% Yes 32% No

From the Newsweek Poll of Jan. 24-25, 1991

became so tense the military kept reporters away. The official reason was that "logistical problems" prevented visits to the carrier; but choppers were shutting back and forth all the time. Pilots who had given their full names and exploits to reporters during the first few days of the air war started using only first names or initials. Some were worried that Iraqi agents would get their home addresses and organize terrorist attacks on their families. Others feared that if they were shot down, the Iraqis would find them boasting of successes on old CNN tapes. Still others decided not to paint silhouettes of destroyed targets on the fuselages of their jets. If the tallies appeared on wreckage,

Pilots can acquire some of this learning through the survival, evasion, rescue and escape training they all undergo before flying into combat (page 55). Trainers playing hostile forces "capture" their students. For 24 to 36 hours they isolate them, grill them and manhandle them. The time and details of the program are classified. The aim is to eliminate the fear of the unknown that destroys a downed flier's equilibrium, but there are limits to what drill can do. "You know you are going home on Saturday night," says Hoffman. "The uncertainty of

real captivity can't be simulated." Before his captors threw him into isolation for 100 days, they told him his entire life story. "They said, 'We can get to your family any time we want,'" he recalls. "I had a lot of time to think what they could really do."

Iraqi interrogators will probably try to pry sensitive military data from Saddam's POWs as fast as they can. On the battlefield, where conditions rapidly change, secrets have a shelf life of a month or so. If the Iraqis follow the model of the Vietnamese, they will try to extract bombing targets and

codes first. To encourage Stockdale, a Medal of Honor winner shot down in 1965 after 200 combat missions, Vietnamese interrogators used a torture called "the ropes." They tied him up in ways that caused great pain for long periods of time. When Stockdale saw Zaun on TV, he thought he saw some familiar signs. "He talked to me like a guy who had just come off the ropes," he says. "Your circulation is cut off, you're disoriented. The pain makes you numb."

Saddam and other thugs can use torture in all shapes and sizes. Stockdale spent

To the Victors Go the Trials

He has at his command the greatest air armada in history, a vast panoply of high-tech missiles and a lumbering herd of mighty tanks. But last week George Bush chose to reach for a more conventional American weapon. If Saddam Hussein didn't stop his abuses, the president warned, he'd take him to court.

The president's vow that Saddam would be brought to justice for his abuse of captured allied pilots raised the prospect that for the first time since World War II full-dress trials for war crimes might be in the offing. Before there could be a court, of course, there would have to be a decisive victory and a warm body to arrest—assuming the allies could take Saddam alive. But Washington was gearing up for postwar judicial proceedings. NEWSWEEK has learned that a group of Defense Department lawyers has begun compiling reports of alleged Iraqi offenses. That growing list could form the spine of an early but comprehensive indictment against Iraqi officials.

Poison ban: Any case against Saddam would have to rest on violations of a handful of international treaties that were ratified throughout the 20th century. The Hague Convention of 1907 prohibits attacks on "undefended" civilian targets. The Geneva Protocol of 1925 bans the use of poisonous weapons. The Geneva Conventions of 1929 and 1949, among their many provisions,

laid down strict restrictions on the treatment of wounded or captured soldiers. And the United Nations Charter itself forbids wars of aggression by guaranteeing the territory and independence of all states. Both Iraq and the United States have signed these pacts and could, if a clear victor emerges, attempt to enforce them.

With war crimes, there is no substitute for victory; as the maxim says, to the victors go the trials. That was most clearly the case in the famous war trials of German officers after World War II at Nuremberg. (Similar trials were held for Japanese defendants but they were not entrenched in the collective public memory.) At the first set of Nuremberg trials, a panel of judges drawn from the Allied powers heard evidence of war crimes against the remnants of the Nazi high command. These were dra-

matic proceedings, featuring Germans in the dock, wearing uniforms, headphones and expressions that ranged from defiance to pathetic bewilderment. The prosecution was led by Robert H. Jackson, a U.S. Supreme Court justice who took a leave of absence. The defendants were supplied with lawyers. In the end 19 were convicted, 12 sentenced to die, 3 acquitted and 7 sentenced to prison terms of 10 years to life, and one committed suicide before the trial.

Nuremberg would be the model for another round of trials in this war. Its basic framework—crimes against peace, crimes against humanity and crimes committed during war—would undoubtedly be applied again. Also, Nuremberg is a precedent for the convening of an international tribunal. There is no permanent international criminal court; the World Court in The Hague

hears only civil disputes between nations. An ad hoc panel could be created by U.N. resolution or military order, and, says Walter Rockler, a Washington lawyer who was a Nuremberg prosecutor, "it could be held anywhere as long as it's under international auspices." Trials could also pay diplomatic dividends. "We need to have an Arab solution to an Arab problem," says Col. Eric Chase, a lawyer who teaches at the Marine Corps University. He favors an all-Arab panel of judges.

Security problems: Trying the accused may prove to be easier than punishing the guilty. Invoking the death penalty could be divisive; the Western Europeans seldom use it and the Arab countries might not want to create martyrs. But a prison term raises questions, too. Whose jail? Who wants the problems of guarding Saddam or his aides?

The laws of war are an optimistic compromise. Having failed to stop combat, nations decided they could at least regulate it. While military courts that try spies and traitors date at least to the 1700s, according to Yeshiva University law professor Telford Taylor, it wasn't until the Civil War that a formal code of war was drawn up at Abraham Lincoln's specific request. The rules formed the basis for the first celebrated war-crimes trial, that of Confederate Maj. Henry Wirz, the commandant of the wretched Andersonville prison camp. He was hanged.



German war criminals in Nuremberg after World War II

UPI-BETTMANN

ARIE PRESS with Bob COHN in Washington and GINNY CARROLL in Houston

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seven and a half years in the Hanoi Hilton, the Zoo and other North Vietnamese stops. Captors broke his back and shattered his leg trying to make him talk. Finally he signed a letter to the camp commissar purporting to give his captors all the information they were after. He faked everything. Still, the reality is that torture works. The military Code of Conduct used to forbid POWs from giving anything but their name, rank and serial number. Now it requires only that they resist to the best of their ability giving anything but those basics. "The problem is fear—fear and guilt," says Stockdale. Even when anti-American statements are coerced from pilots, they feel ashamed. "It's the worst feeling in the world," says Hoffman. He remembers the pain of returning to an isolation cell or cellblock after saying things he knew he shouldn't have said: "You feel like an absolute piece of crap."

A "B.A.C.K." list: It is difficult to fight back against an enemy who controls your food, water, clothing, shelter and movement; but it can be done. As senior POW in his camp, Stockdale took command of the other POWs. In prison, where the individual can be isolated and broken, he says, it is vital to maintain a system of orders and communications. This will be impossible for Saddam's prisoners, who are now scattered and deployed as human shields, one of the worst configurations for a POW. Stockdale instructed his own men to refuse in the beginning all objectionable requests from their captors. A POW who cooperated once, then balked, was treated more brutally than a holdout. When the men came to him with a request for a list of other do's and don'ts, he constructed a four-letter formula he called B.A.C.K. The letter B stood for "don't Bow in public"; A was "stay off the Air" (no propaganda broadcasts); C meant "don't admit Crimes." And the letter K was "don't Kiss 'em goodbye."

Iraqi cultural values—as well as how much Saddam thinks he can wring from his prisoners—will determine how badly they are treated in the months ahead. Not all countries are as bad as others in this regard. Saddam has always admired Germany, but so far he shows no signs of following German practices for POWs. William Chapin was 25 in 1944 when the B-24 bomber he was flying was shot down over Yugoslavia. A German patrol found him with a badly broken leg. That night he lay in a litter alongside Wehrmacht enlist-

ed men, some wounded by bombs from his own raid. A German surgeon amputated his leg to save his life, treating him before the Germans because he was an officer. He wound up in Stalag 17. "It was rough, but not concentration-camp rough," he remembers. "We were cold as hell and hungry as hell, but we weren't beaten." After seeing the Americans on Iraqi TV he thought, "I got none of the manipulation—where POWs become tools."

The real question is whether Saddam attaches any value to the lives of the POWs

base in 1950, he spent 38 months, including a winter death march, as a POW. The North Koreans aimed pistols at the heads of captives to make them do propaganda broadcasts. His comrades suffered from frostbite, dysentery, beriberi, hepatitis and night blindness. Of 750 men captured with him, 500 died. He would wake up mornings to find the man next to him frozen to death. Others gave up eating their meager rations of two millet balls a day and died of starvation. "They had what we called 'give-up-itis'," he recalls.

"A man would tell you, 'I'm not going to be here tomorrow, I'm going to die,' and by God, he would be gone."

Lice and dogfights: Next to the fear of dying, a POW's worst torment is the feeling that no one knows where he is or cares. After William Fornes tangled with MiG-15s, he was captured by Chinese troops in North Korea. Neither his outfit nor his family knew whether he was dead or alive. He spent 10 months in solitary counting lice and watching dogfights overhead. Then the dogfights stopped. "That was the worst," he remembers. "I couldn't help thinking, if the war is over, why am I still here?" It was not an idle thought. Unlike German POW camps, Korean and Vietnamese camps were never liberated. The MIA lobby thinks Vietnam is still holding captives, or at least their remains. The Pentagon sees no evidence that any POWs are alive in Southeast Asia.

Fornes didn't know whether he would reach Virginia as a hero or a traitor, and he was surprised when his hometown gave him a parade. After years of nightmares, he found comfort talking to other ex-POWs. Whether they had been held by the Germans, Japanese, Koreans or Vietnamese, they shared a bond that now extends to those held by the Iraqis. Today Fornes is trying to raise \$2.5 million for a POW museum in Americus, Ga., near the site of the South's Andersonville POW camp during the Civil War. Andersonville showed what horrors even Americans can work on one another as POWs. When Fornes dies, he wants to be buried alongside the 13,000 Union soldiers who lie there, a Southerner among Yankees. "Andersonville offers me a kinship that transcends everything else," he says. "There I am among my own." A prisoner of war at peace.

TOM MATTHEWS with ANDREW MURR in Los Angeles, TONY CLIFFORD in Saudi Arabia, DOUGLAS WALLER in Washington and JOHN MCCORMICK in Chicago



The agony of a downed U.S. airman under the gun in Vietnam

or whether he holds them in contempt for being captured. During World War II the Japanese considered surrender a moral disgrace and POWs beyond the human pale. After the fall of Corregidor in the Philippines, Fred Peppers, then a 24-year-old Navy quartermaster, spent three years in camps where POWs were beaten, starved and left to die from diseases. He ate rice crawling with maggots to survive. For a time he was a slave laborer in a coal mine. He stands 6 feet 2 inches tall. When he was released, he weighed 92 pounds. "Next year it will be 50 years," he says. "You don't ever get past it. Every time there's a war, the bad memories come back." What has happened to Saddam's captives, he says, has left him "pretty depressed."

The will to live is the only force a POW can count on to get through the worst of conditions. After North Korean troops overran Lt. Charles Minietta's headquar-

Bringing Them Back Alive

High-tech retrieval teams take to the skies when pilots bail out over enemy territory

War is not just advance and retreat; it's also spin and counterspin. In the same week that Saddam Hussein paraded his first POWs before the global audience, the alliance forces announced their first successful rescues of the gulf war. In a daring attempt last Monday, an MH-53 Pave Low helicopter stole into Iraq to grab a Navy F-14 Tomcat pilot downed in the desert just eight hours before. Two A-10 Thunderbolt attack planes circled as the chopper hovered in. Suddenly an Iraqi Army truck blundered into the area. One of the Warthogs opened fire with its 30-millimeter gun—powerful enough to destroy tanks—and blew the truck off the road. "It was a rather indescribable feeling to know that we was now on the helicopter, and we were coming out of enemy territory—that we were about to pull this off," said Capt. Paul Johnson, who led the effort.

Heroic rescues have always made for pulse-racing stories, from the World War II pilots spirited out of hostile countries by resistance fighters to the American airmen yanked from Vietnam's jungles by Jolly Green Giant choppers. Intelligence sources tell NEWSWEEK that for Desert Storm, Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf gave special-operations commandos orders from the start to set up escape and evasion routes (E&E nets) in Kuwait and Iraq with CIA help. Those nets have already gotten their first test: in the opening days of Desert Storm, Kuwaiti resistance fighters got a downed Kuwaiti pilot out of the country.

Baby bottles: The Desert Storm pilots prepare for the worst. They get preflight briefings on secret collection points in Iraq and Kuwait. Airmen take along bare necessities in their parachute packs and seat cushions, including hand weapons, desert camouflage face paint, compass, maps and a first-aid kit. They also carry a small strobe light, pocket radio and flares to signal rescuers. And, of course, water. Desert Storm pilots stuff every empty pocket with four-ounce, silver-foil pouches of H₂O. Some even carry baby bottles, which fit conveniently in flight-suit pockets. Pilots are told not to conserve water, but to drink freely so they'll be clearheaded to look for more. They sleep during the day and walk at night. "We tell them, 'Ration your sweat, not your water,'" says S/Sgt. Kevin M. Miller, who teaches a survival course

THE WAR DESERT STORM

at Fairchild Air Force Base.

Pilot-rescue tactics, first developed by the Germans in World War II, became highly developed in Vietnam. One in six downed pilots was saved—about 1,300 lives in all—at a cost of 71 rescuers. Warplanes and helicopters were routinely pulled off combat missions for searches—and the rescues in North Vietnam commonly involved more than 70 planes. Today's missions can be carried out by as little as two high-tech, heavily armed helicopters.

Despite the military's proud rescue history, Desert Storm soldiers face new challenges. Cover and concealment will be tougher than in Vietnam—it's not a jungle out there, after all. "You're pretty much out in the open," says an Air Force colonel. Also, American special-operations commandos

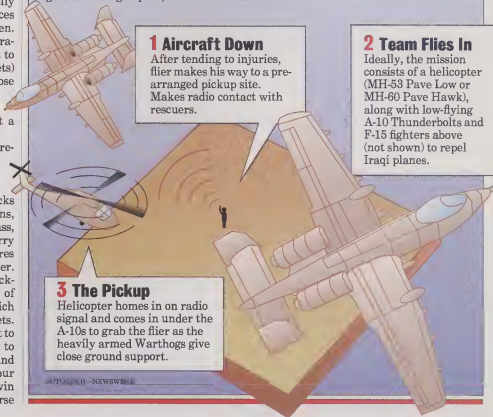
have had a more difficult time setting up E&E nets in Iraq than in friendly Kuwait. But it's not just the terrain that's new. The brass had to reconstitute much of its rescue capability. After every modern air war, "the Air Force air-rescue forces are the first to go," says Earl H. Tilford Jr., visiting professor of military history at the Air Force's Air Command and Staff College. In the early days of Vietnam, air rescue was handled by the CIA's Air America until the Air Force could build the squadrons axed after the Korean War. Likewise, after Vietnam, the Air Force de-emphasized air rescue, reasoning that its pilots would likely be shot down in Eastern Europe where they wouldn't survive in the nuclear rubble. The service is still rebuilding.

The choppers will get a lot more work in the coming weeks. While the threat from Iraq's long-range, surface-to-air missiles around Baghdad and other strategic sites has been largely eliminated, the short-range SAMs and thousands of anti-aircraft guns have not gone away. What goes up must come down, and some of the things that go up will certainly come back down behind enemy lines. The challenge is to bring them back alive.

JOHN SCHWARTZ and DOUGLAS WALLER
in Washington

Rescues: High Risk, High Reward

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The German Connection

How its firms helped build Iraq's military machine

GERMANY, ONE MORE TIME FOR THE FINAL SOLUTION?" For many Jews who stood on a street in war-rattled Tel Aviv last week, the words on a demonstrator's placard contained the ring of bitter truth. German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was visiting Israel to express his country's solidarity with the Jewish state, promising \$166 million in humanitarian aid. But his offer was overshadowed by mounting Israeli outrage over the role that German firms played in building Iraq's arsenal. "The Germans killed my parents, and now they're helping Saddam Hussein," one woman protester wailed, joined by a throng of Israelis clad in gas masks and concentration-camp suits. "Hate the Germans."

During the 1980s, West German commercial interests were hardly alone as major suppliers of Saddam's war machine. Encouraged by their governments, which saw Iraq as a necessary counterbalance to fundamentalist Iran, contractors from France, Italy, Britain and other Western nations flooded Iraq with \$13.4 billion worth of military equipment between 1982 and 1989. Several U.S. firms provided Iraq with technology for chemical and biological warfare. But German contributions have taken on a chilling resonance because they recall so powerfully the country's Nazi past. German companies built Saddam's underground bunker, reminiscent of Hitler's Berlin sanctuary, and provided him with chemical-weapons components such as hydrogen cyanide, a key ingredient in Zyklon-B, the gas used at Auschwitz. German technicians jumped on the *Bundwagon*, redesigning Iraq's Scud missiles to enable them to reach Israel and Saudi Arabia.

The revelations are embarrassing to the Bonn government, which last week announced a program to tighten already tough export regulations. That hardly satisfied opposition party members, who for years have complained about government negligence

in allowing the deadly exports in the first place. A lot of popular rage has been aimed at German companies that built up Saddam's lethal arsenal. "German weapons, German money, German murderers all over the world," declared one poster at an antiwar rally in Bonn last weekend attended by 200,000 people.

At the same time, demonstrations caused some to question whether the country has embraced pacifism and isolationism instead of responsible participation in

world affairs. The government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl was singled out for criticism by the allies for waffling over Germany's obligation to defend Turkey in case of attack by Iraq. "Within NATO," said Germany's conservative *Bild* newspaper, "German influence is melting like butter."

Revelations of its involvement in Iraq have worsened Germany's image abroad. The most lurid was the description in the German press of Saddam's *führerbunker*, a five-star hotel for the nuclear age. In 1981 Saddam hired a Düsseldorf firm, Boswau-Knauer AG, to build the structure. Says

Georg Niedermeier, chairman of the German firm Walter-Thosti-Boswau, which later purchased the construction company: "Saddam had a lot to be worried about in those days."

While the construction of Saddam's bunker was legal, other projects allegedly fell outside the law. Managers of two German companies have been charged by prosecutors with supplying Iraq with materials for the construction of what authorities say are two chemical-weapons plants thought to produce nerve gas. (One company claims that its plant made only pesticides.) Last year German authorities warned the United States that the plants could also produce high-concentrate hydrocyanic acid, capable of burning through gas-mask filters; the tip prompted a redesign of the American and British chemical-warfare suits.

"Superpoison": Chemicals were not the only German-supplied weapons in Iraq's inventory. The Vienna biweekly *Profil* reports that the firm Plato-Kühn sold Iraq a mushroom-based "superpoison" in 1986. The company says it had an export license and didn't know what the deadly substance was to be used for. Meanwhile, German firms may still be dealing with Saddam. The United States gave Bonn a list of 50 companies suspected of violating the U.N. embargo imposed on Aug. 6. Criminal investigations are underway, and Economics Minister Jürgen Möllemann said last week that guilty firms "should be treated like those who commit murder." As the Gulf war drags on, one lasting casualty may be the reunited Germany's international reputation.

JOSHUA HAMMER with
KAREN BRESLAU in Bonn

THE WAR DESERT STORM



KOL AL ARAB

Missiles and launchers on display in a Baghdad military parade

Who Built the Arsenal?

France

Nuclear technology
Air-to-air missiles
Antiship missiles
Antitank missiles
Antiaircraft missiles
Fighter planes
Armored vehicles

Soviet Union

Missiles
Missile craft
Ground-attack aircraft
Fighter planes
Armored personnel cars
Main battle tanks

Italy

Biological-warfare technology
Chemical-warfare tech
Antiship missiles
Ship-to-air missiles

West Germany

Nuclear technology
Biological-warfare tech
Chemical-warfare tech

United States

Biological-warfare tech
Chemical-warfare tech

SOURCES: INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES;
STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE



KIRK CONDYLIS—PHOTOREPORTERS

Questions about the message of a movement: Demonstrators in New York City

The War Within

Antiwar groups are divided over their goals

Like most wars, Operation Desert Storm was begun in a noble spirit of common purpose and national unity. But within a week it was mired in domestic politics and rivalries. The antiwar movement, as it geared up for last Saturday's mammoth protest in Washington, dropped some of its high-minded claims to be acting more in sorrow than in anger, threatening to "take back the government for the people" in next year's election. Police in San Francisco began agitating for the right to wear flag patches on their uniforms, warning demonstrators what kind of justice to expect. And on a visit to Fort Bragg, a man introduced generously as "a former soldier"—former National Guardsman Dan Quayle—denounced protesters with a vigor that reminded The New York Times of another vice president who made a name for himself as a source of dissent: Spiro Agnew.

Quayle was right about one thing: opponents of the war are a small minority of the American people. A NEWSWEEK Poll showed that a record 86 percent of the population supported the president. But once the adrenaline of the first week's rallies

wore off, the peace movement had to confront some hard choices about its future. Strategically, it was pursuing goals—an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal—that seemed quixotic in the midst of the largest aerial bombardment in the history of warfare.

"The problem with the peace movement," said liberal Democratic Sen. Paul Wellstone of Minnesota, "is that besides 'peace now,' it has not presented a real alternative. It's a movement without a coherent message." Tactically, it seemed not to have thought much beyond last weekend's march, except for a suggestion by Alex Molnar of the Military Families Support Network that people "telephone their representatives and senators every day until this war ends, and ask politely what they did that day to end the war in the Persian Gulf," a campaign sure to elicit a great many reprints of speeches from the Congressional Record.

Organizationally, the peace movement was beset by tension among its diverse components. Molnar, who carefully points out that although he opposes the war, he sup-

ports the troops (including his own son, a 21-year-old Marine), faced a pointed question from a listener who argued that soldiers in the gulf "are also perpetrators of a crime." (He also confronted a fellow peace lover who was as concerned about Molnar's use of a nonreusable paper cup as he was about the bombing.) And politically, it had to face up to at least a temporary loss of support in Congress. "There is still the feeling that by opposing the war, you are undercutting morale of the troops," said political analyst William Schneider. Come 1992, he added, "Republicans will want to use Saddam Hussein as the next Willie Horton"—a symbol with which to flay Democrats seen as soft on war criminals. A House leadership aide agreed that "Iraq's bombing of Tel Aviv and the apparent torture of POWs has quelled any antiwar sentiment there might have been on the Hill." To say nothing of the reaction Saddam's oil spillage provoked

among environmentalists.

And there was the distracting question of how you react if right-wing extremists start handing out literature at your rallies. The violently anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby has taken a strong antiwar stand. Dick Gregory, a leader of one of the two main

antiwar umbrella groups, spoke at the Liberty Lobby's 1990 convention. Followers of right-wing rabble-rouser Lyndon LaRouche have tried to join antiwar groups in several cities.

The movement, of course, is still young. Some of its leaders appear to be thinking ahead.

Daniel Ellsberg is urging the

movement to focus now on preventing an escalation of Desert Storm into a full-scale ground war, perhaps a more realistic goal than an immediate cease-fire. Democratic Rep. John Conyers predicted last week that Bush would soon have to reactivate the draft—and if so, he added, "we want it to be fair and there'll be no exemptions for college students." This was a shrewd tactic for stampeding young people, and their parents, into the peace movement. And there was, finally, undeniably, the presence of more than 150,000 Americans on the Mall last Saturday, little more than a week into a war whose worst horrors surely lie ahead of us. The peace movement, like the troops themselves, has barely begun to fight.

JERRY ADLER with CLARA BINGHAM in Washington, TODD BARRETT in Chicago, DEBRA ROSENBERG in Boston and SHAWN D. LEWIS in Detroit

THE WAR
HOME
FRONT

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WALLY MCNAMEE—NEWSWEEK

Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams answers questions from reporters at a briefing

Showdown at 'Fact Gap'

Can the press make the military loosen up?

Trust me, trust me," said Gen. Colin Powell at a Pentagon briefing last week. Powell was trying to explain why he wasn't releasing more information about the course of the war—but he wasn't making much headway. Reporters realize that certain military details, conveyed via CNN, could help Saddam Hussein; they understand that the military can't, as Powell said, "keep up with the hourly news cycle"; most admire Powell personally. But to "trust" the word of the government without being able to report the story on their own is alien to the very nature of journalism. As the press chafed under wartime censorship last week, polls showed Americans siding overwhelmingly with the military. Before long, however, more viewers may come to realize that for all the spooky network music, theatrical correspondents and Nintendo military briefings, they have little real information about the progress of the war.

It's no wonder that more than 700 reporters from around the world are going stir crazy in Saudi Arabia. The "pool" system, in which small groups of tightly controlled correspondents report back to their colleagues, is widely viewed by the press as a disaster. "If the war is a beast, we've seen only a toenail," says Forrest Sawyer, an ABC News correspondent in Dhahran. While avoiding a re-

peat of Lyndon Johnson's "credibility gap," military planners realize that a "fact gap" is widening, and it leaves them with a dilemma. While they crave the control their stringent approach provides, they know the dangers of a frustrated press corps.

The Pentagon's argument that it's simply trying to save the lives of soldiers and reporters is wearing thin. Why, for instance, did a military spokesman refuse to acknowledge the capture of American POWs even days after the downed pilots showed up on Iraqi TV? The "security re-

THE WAR HOME FRONT

view" process was supposedly streamlined, but Carol Morello of The Philadelphia Inquirer says that reports she filed from the Red Sea went through four layers of censorship. Even adjectives are edited: Frank Bruni of The Detroit Free Press wrote that pilots were "giddy" on returning from early missions. Officers changed the word to "proud"; they compromised on "pumped up." From avoiding coverage of wounded Marines to banning the traditional pictures of the arrival of flag-draped coffins at Dover Air Force Base, the military is determined to impede reporting that might convey the war's emotional price.

Whiny: The press has a crippling fear of appearing whiny about its own logistics. This is partly what led news organizations to go along with the unworkable pool system, even after it failed miserably in its 1989 debut in Panama. The whole arrangement is antithetical to the craft. Not only is enterprise reporting impossible in pools (whose information must, by definition, be shared), but talking to soldiers in the presence of public-affairs officers rarely yields anything substantial. Reporters on the ground are disturbed that their bosses back home haven't fought harder to change these realities.

Now, with the political motivation of the restrictions growing clearer, objections are mounting from other quarters. "The Pentagon is as much interested in structuring public opinion as safeguarding security," charges Rep. Frank McCloskey (Democrat of Indiana), who said hearings will likely begin next week to scrutinize the restrictions. Meanwhile, federal Judge Leonard Sand ordered Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams to submit to a deposition in a suit brought by the Center for Constitutional Rights challenging the legality of the rules.

Some newspeople—most of them photographers and print reporters—decided to fight the restrictions on the ground in Saudi Arabia, undertaking unauthorized trips to cover what they could in the desert. Reaching the front without the help of the military is far more difficult and dangerous than in Vietnam (in part because of allied roadblocks). CBS correspondent Bob Simon and his crew disappeared near the Kuwaiti border early last week after embarking on one such unauthorized trip. Their car, with keys and gear still in it, was found abandoned in the desert.

Beyond the incident's potentially tragic implications, the disappearance dealt a blow to the cause of independent re-

OPINION WATCH

Concerns About Live Coverage

Which of the following apply to the U.S. news media's coverage of the war? (Percent saying applies)

- 73% Fair and reliable
- 64% Makes it harder for U.S. officials to conduct the war
- 56% Too much propaganda from Iraq
- 55% Live coverage leads to impatience for a quick ending
- 32% Too controlled by the Pentagon

From the NEWSWEEK Poll of Jan. 24-25, 1991

porting. Simon had already broken free from the pool for one first-rate piece from the front and he was determined to do so again. Now his colleagues might be discouraged from following his example. The military argues that the pools are not only safer for reporters, but a distinct improvement over the 1983 invasion of Grenada, which was off the record entirely. "What we have here is a compromise between the journalists who want to go to the front in their rental car and the generals who would rather have all the press stay in a hotel in London," says Col. William Mulvey. To the Pentagon, George Bush's battle cry "This will not be another Vietnam" means in part that the easy media access of that conflict will not be repeated.

But the pool system could unravel yet. Last week's first footage of the Persian Gulf oil spill came from ITN, a British network that circumvented the pool system to obtain it. This caused alarm at other networks, whose cooperation is needed for the system to work. "We've been playing by the rules, and the rules aren't working very well," says Ed Turner, executive vice president of CNN. The best arrangement from

reporters' perspective would be simply to help them go independently where they request. Military complaints about the troops being overrun by the media ring hollow. Spread out over 500,000 troops, a few hundred carefully accredited reporters at a time would hardly be noticed.

Grandstander: As it is, the journalists have been reduced to interviewing one another. The Dhahran prize for grandstanding goes easily to CNN's Charles Jaco. "It's gas!" he yelled to his viewers at one point, reaching for his gas mask. (He later apologized.) "I've run for it too many times," Jaco said in a war-weary voice to a reporter from *Mirabella* magazine in the Dhahran International Hotel last week. "The next thing you know, we are taking these air bursts and I'm almost literally knocked off my feet." Other reporters who believe the danger has been greatly exaggerated point out that so far not one person in the Dhahran area has been even slightly injured. On TV, anyway, the war is strangely bloodless. With Iraq sealed off and Israel under heavy censorship, reporters have employed the wonders of live satellite technology mostly just to fill time.

Live, unedited coverage not only generates mistakes, it lacks a sense of context. That elusive journalistic quality involves more than disclaimers on propaganda reports. Sometimes true context requires breaking the rules for getting to the story, as Simon did. And sometimes it simply means focusing on the subject from a different angle. Only rarely, for instance, have Iraqi refugees who fled to Jordan been interviewed on TV about the effects of the allied bombing, as if firsthand accounts of war are somehow less newsworthy than the "I've got nothing for you on that" comments of briefers or the repetitious speculation of retired generals. Dissenters from the war, given at least a little voice before hostilities began, have been all but absent from most network coverage. ABC, NBC and CBS have each extended their evening news programs to one hour, which by itself allows for more context. But if the Pentagon succeeds in severely restricting access to information, all the air time imaginable won't fill the gap in what the public needs to know about its war.

JONATHAN ALTER with
C. S. MANEGOLD in Saudi Arabia

Reporting From Enemy Territory

In 1966, Harrison E. Salisbury of *The New York Times* traveled to North Vietnam and filed reports on civilian casualties caused by American bombing that caused a furor back home. In 1991, Peter Arnett of CNN, the only major Western reporter allowed by the Iraqis to remain inside the country, finds himself in a similar situation. For a week, Arnett filed censored daily reports from Baghdad by telephone. Now Iraqi authorities have granted CNN permission to bring in a crew for live satellite transmission. The network has an exclusive that's envied by all its competitors. But it's also one that plenty of Americans resent.

Arnett is virtually a journalistic prisoner of war. He sees only what the Iraqis want him to see, and is not allowed to interview anyone independently. Unlike his carefully controlled colleagues in Saudi Arabia, he can't complain about his working arrangements or call the home office without someone listen-



CNN's Arnett is the only major Western reporter in Baghdad

ing. But even while transmitting the official Iraqi line to the world via CNN, New Zealand-born Arnett manages to remain a reporter. Having covered more than a dozen wars in 30 years, he knows what to look for. (He won a Pulitzer Prize for his Vietnam coverage for the *As-*

sociated Press.) From the start, he has refused to speculate or report anything beyond what he can physically see, hear and smell. As a result, his reports of civilian casualties at various sites have more credibility than they might in the hands of a less experienced correspond-

ent. Last Saturday, for instance, he reported accounts of civilian deaths in a holy city believed to have been off-limits to bombing. But he added that the mosque itself was still open and full of visitors. What emerges from his reporting is a country that has been stunned by the allied bombing, but far from destroyed—not such a different picture from the one provided by the American briefers.

Baby formula: Of course the White House doesn't quite see it that way. When Arnett reported on bombing at a plant that the Iraqis claim made baby formula, the U.S. military argued that the site was in fact a chemical-weapons factory. Do such conflicting reports harm the allied war effort? It's hard to see how they do. TV viewers know—or ought to know—that women and children die in war. CNN has put its Baghdad reports in context with a series of disclaimers. As a tool for Iraqi manipulation, Arnett's formidable talents are not being put to their best use. But a little light from enemy territory is better than none at all.

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JOURNALISM REVIEW, FEBRUARY, 1989.

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ALAIN KELLER—OUTRAGE MATRIX

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WATCH

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63% No

24-25, 1991

porting. Simon had already broken free from the pool for one first-rate piece from the front and he was determined to do so again. Now his colleagues might be discouraged from following his example. The military argues that the pools are not only safer for reporters, but a distinct improvement over the 1983 invasion of Grenada, which was off the record entirely. "What we have here is a compromise between the journalists who want to go to the front in their rent-a-car and the generals who would rather have all the press stay in a hotel in London," says Col. William Mulvey. To the Pentagon, George Bush's battle cry "This will not be another Vietnam" means in part that the easy media access of that conflict will not be repeated.

But the pool system could unravel yet. Last week's first footage of the Persian Gulf oil spill came from ITN, a British network that circumvented the pool system to obtain it. This caused alarm at other networks, whose cooperation is needed for the system to work. "We've been playing by the rules, and the rules aren't working very well," says Ed Turner, executive vice president of CNN. The best arrangement from

reporters' perspective help them go indepe request. Military co troops being overrun hollow. Spread out o few hundred carefully at a time would hard

Grandstander: As it is, been reduced to inter The Dhahran prize for easily to CNN's Charl yelled to his viewers a for his gas mask. (E "I've run for it too me in a war-weary voice Mirabella magazine i national Hotel last w you know, we are tak and I'm almost liter feet." Other reporter ger has been greatl e that so far not one pe area has been even sli anyway, the war is With Iraq sealed off ar censorship, reporter wonders of live satelli just to fill time.

Reporting From Enemy Territory

In 1966, Harrison E. Salisbury of The New York Times traveled to North Vietnam and filed reports on civilian casualties caused by American bombing that caused a furor back home. In 1991, Peter Arnett of CNN, the only major Western reporter allowed by the Iraqis to remain inside the country, finds himself in a similar situation. For a week, Arnett filed censored daily reports from Baghdad by telephone. Now Iraqi authorities have granted CNN permission to bring in a crew for live satellite transmission. The network has an exclusive that's envied by all its competitors. But it's also one that plenty of Americans resent.

Arnett is virtually a journalistic prisoner of war. He sees only what the Iraqis want him to see, and is not allowed to interview anyone independently. Unlike his carefully controlled colleagues in Saudi Arabia, he can't complain about his working arrangements or call the home office without someone listen-



**Peter Arnett
Baghdad, Iraq**

CNN's Arnett is the only major

ing in. But even while transmitting the official Iraqi line to the world via CNN, New Zealand-born Arnett manages to remain a reporter. Having covered more than a dozen wars in 30 years, he knows what to look for. (He won a Pulitzer Prize for his Vietnam coverage for the As-

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Don't Worry About the Cost

It won't be enough to cripple the economy, and shouldn't affect our strategy

BY ROBERT J. SAMUELSON

THE WAR HOME FRONT

Let's talk about the economics of war. You know the basic question: can we afford both guns and butter? It's always asked, and it's being asked now. We're told the war is frightfully expensive (perhaps

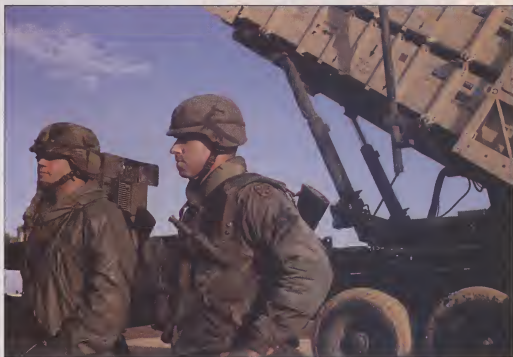
\$1 billion a day) and that, perhaps, we ought to pay for it with a surtax. Please, keep cool. Yes, the war may ultimately cost tens of billions of dollars, but as wars go, it will be relatively cheap. And this is not the right moment for new taxes.

The important thing about the war's cost is that it's not very important. The stakes in this war are lives and the long-term question of whether the Middle East becomes more—or less—stable. By comparison, the economic burdens are modest. The United States can easily afford a longer war if that would minimize casualties. And the United States is rich enough to maintain a military presence in the Persian Gulf if that would enhance postwar stability.

What's lost in all the panicky talk about price tags is the enormity of the U.S. economy. As an economic contest, this war is already an unfair mismatch. Even when Iraq is pumping oil, its gross national product (perhaps \$60 billion or maybe less) roughly equals the output of Kentucky. This is about one hundredth the size of the U.S. economy (1990 GNP: \$5.5 trillion). The idea that America's economic base can't support this war is absurd.

The worries partly reflect our obsession with budget deficits, which totaled a disgraceful \$1.6 trillion in the 1980s. But the deficit preoccupation obscures larger issues. The major economic effects of the crisis so far have involved psychology, not deficits. Uncertainty, anxiety and high oil prices have depressed consumer spending and business investment, worsening the recession. (The Commerce Department reported last week that GNP dropped 2.1 percent in the fourth quarter.) The same will be true later. If the war ends in a way that cuts oil prices and bolsters confidence, it will spur recovery. But military setbacks or a standoff could deepen pessimism.

The truth is that the United States is now fighting this war out of its hip pocket. By itself, the war spending isn't large enough



ALAIN KELLER—ODYSSEY MATRIX

Patriot

\$1.1 million

At a site in Saudi Arabia, U.S. soldiers man a launcher used to fire the sophisticated anti-missile missiles, which could lift the prospects for the Star Wars program

either to cripple the economy or—the other bit of conventional wisdom—immediately end the recession. There's a paradox here. Over the years, weapon prices have risen and defense costs have fallen. A new F-15E fighter costs a hefty \$50 million at 1991 production rates, reports the Defense Budget

et Project, a Washington research group. Nevertheless, military spending (about \$300 billion annually before the war) runs at roughly 5.5 percent of GNP. By contrast, it approached 40 percent of GNP at its peak in World War II, 14 percent in the Korean War and 9 percent in the Vietnam War.

The gulf war is in another league. Consider some cost estimates from the Congressional Budget Office. The CBO examined two possibilities: a short war involving about 3,000 dead and wounded and the loss of 200 tanks and 100 aircraft; and a much bloodier war with 45,000 casualties and the destruction of 900 tanks and 600 aircraft. In fiscal 1991, these two wars were estimated to increase government spending by \$17 billion and \$35 billion respectively. Replacing all lost weapons would raise the totals—over a number of years—to \$28 billion for the shorter war and \$86 billion for the longer war.

Even the highest estimate is tiny compared with the cost of past wars. In today's dollars, the Vietnam War cost \$570 billion

OPINION WATCH

'No' to a War Tax

Should there be a special surtax on Americans to pay U.S. war costs and avoid worsening the deficit?

29% Yes

63% No

From the Newsweek Poll of Jan. 24-25, 1991

Where the hot dog was invented



Long before there was Disneyland, there was Coney Island; and it was internationally famous as the world's greatest center for fun. On Sundays in summer, half a million visitors would make "Coney" the most densely populated place on earth.

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JOHN MCCUTCHEON—DOD POOL



RANDY JOLLY

Tomahawk

\$1.35 million

F-15E

\$50.43 million

A long-range, computer-guided cruise missile is fired from the battleship USS Wisconsin in the Persian Gulf

At an Air Force base in North Carolina, an attack/fighter jet used for precision bombing takes off on a training flight

and World War II \$3.1 trillion, says Stephen Daggett of the Congressional Research Service (table). What's blunting the war's cost is that, unlike Vietnam or Korea, the United States has not had to mobilize. With the exception of 193,000 reservists (about 15 percent of whom serve in the gulf), the war is being fought by the professional military from its existing arsenal.

Some war costs will also be absorbed by depleting that arsenal, which was intended to deter a now improbable land war in Europe. The Army and Marines together have 15,400 tanks. "If we lose 400 tanks, we're not going to replace them," says Alexis Cain of the Defense Budget Project. Other stockpiles are also large. By Cain's estimate, the military has bought 5,200 Patriot missiles and 267,000 TOW antitank missiles. (Actual inventories are lower because some have been used in training.)

Spending booms: Finally, foreign contributions—assuming they materialize—will help. Japan last week pledged \$9 billion. One report from Tokyo had the United States and Japan each paying 20 percent of war costs, with Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other countries picking up the rest. That's consistent with the White House's claim that 80 percent of the \$10 billion cost of Desert Shield through the end of 1990 was covered by foreign contributions.

The classic challenge of war economies is preventing spending booms and runaway inflation. Rather than raise taxes, governments sometimes pay for wars by printing more money. In part, this happened in the Vietnam War. By late 1965, Lyndon Johnson's economic advisers urged him to raise taxes. But Johnson didn't propose a surtax until 1967, and Congress didn't pass one until 1968. Between 1964 and 1969, inflation jumped from 1.3 to 5.5 percent.

The danger of rising inflation is muted now. In the 1960s, the extra defense spending fed an economy near "full employment." The result was to raise wages and prices. Today there's a recession and rising unemployment. Finally, the Federal Reserve is much more aggressive about fighting inflation. "Now is not the time to put on another tax," correctly argues Brookings Institution economist Charles Schultze, who was LBJ's budget director.

Even when taxes are raised, they usually don't cover all war costs. In World War II, the national debt nearly quintupled. Taxes paid only 43 percent of costs. "This was standard policy inherited from the British," says economist Peter Garber of Brown University. In World War II, rationing

forced Americans to funnel idle funds into government bonds. The idea was to spread war costs over more years by repaying the debt later through budget surpluses.

The trouble today is that we already have huge deficits. When the new budget is released, its deficit—\$300 billion or more—will seem to say that last fall's budget agreement achieved nothing. This is misleading. A big part of the deficit now reflects temporary costs: up to \$110 billion for deposit insurance (mainly S&Ls); perhaps \$25 billion or so for the recession (it lowers taxes and raises spending), and an unknown amount for the war. With time, these will disappear. Meanwhile, the budget agreement's tax increases and spending cuts will shrink the remaining deficit, which is probably about \$160 billion.

Defense cuts? Here's where the war could derail things. About a third of the deficit reductions in the budget agreement stem from permanent cuts in the size of the military. By 1995, the Bush administration had expected to reduce the number of service men and women from 2.1 million to 1.7 million. The cuts are still possible. On the eve of war Defense Secretary Dick Cheney canceled the Navy's A-12 aircraft: a decision that seemed to confirm the administration's plans to persist with long-range spending cuts despite the gulf conflict.

But unfortunately, wars have a way of upsetting plans. Some military cuts may be delayed and others could be reversed entirely. We cannot now tell what the postwar Persian Gulf will look like or demand of us. All we can surmise is that the war's current costs are bearable but that they will complicate matters later. We were arguing about guns, essential social services, taxes and deficits before the war. After the war we will still be arguing about them. ■

Still Cheap, Relatively

Even high estimates of the cost of Operation Desert Storm look small compared with the price tags for previous American wars.

**The gulf war (estimate):
\$17 billion to \$86 billion**

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| World War II: | \$3.1 trillion |
| Vietnam War: | \$570 billion |
| World War I: | \$380 billion |
| Korean War: | \$265 billion |

COSTS IN 1991 DOLLARS
SOURCES: CBO; CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE

As every teacher and parent inevitably discovers, there is a curious truth to curiosity: It often defies their best efforts to inspire it.

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Erasing the Vietnam Nightmare

The Desert Storm warriors hope to undo the last war's bitter legacy

THE WAR HOME FRONT

William Taylor Jr. was a visiting professor at the National War College in 1975 when he encountered a class of U.S. military officers "mad as hell" over their country's prosecution of the Vietnam War. One of them was a 38-year-old colonel named Colin Powell. "Their bottom line was, 'never again.' You don't go to war for vague intentions and undefined objectives, and never without the military resources to get the job done," says Taylor, who is now a vice president at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington.

For Powell and the senior commanders of Desert Storm, liberation of Kuwait is the military objective. But liberation from Vietnam's bitter legacy looms as a prized—if unarticulated—target of opportunity.

Time after time in the gulf war's early weeks, the idioms and images of Vietnam have flickered through the comments of military leaders. Air Force Lt. Gen. Charles Horner, who flew 111 combat missions over North Vietnam, praised civilian leaders for the "freedom" his staff had in planning the gulf air campaign. Powell, wounded near the Laotian border in 1963 when he stepped into a punji-stick trap, sidestepped a reporter's questions on body counts. "All we do to duck that for the time being," he said. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, a Vietnam battalion commander who led a patrol from the middle of a minefield, has stressed rules of engagement designed to limit civilian casualties. Memories of combat—and of a conflict marked by civilian micromanagement, a collapse of military discipline and the erosion of domestic support—have left indelible marks. "Vietnam is sort of in the DNA," says Charles Moskos, a military sociologist at Northwestern University.

The notion of gulf-war-as-catharsis gets its momentum from the commander in chief. Vietnam "cleaves us still," George Bush said in his Inaugural Address. But, he added, "no great nation can long afford to be sundered by a memory." Bush seldom mentions the crisis now without attempting to finalize the divorce between Viet-

nam and the American psyche. On K-Day, he evoked Dwight Eisenhower ("The liberation of Kuwait has begun") and told a television audience that Americans would not fight Saddam Hussein "with one hand tied behind them." Later that week he assured the troops that antiwar demonstrations did not reflect overall American sentiment. At the Pentagon, Powell and Defense Secretary Dick Cheney—although stingy with hard information about Desert Storm—have used down-to-earth rhetoric, not the starchy, systems-analysis argot of the McNamara era. The war, Cheney as-

serted, warriors bloodied in Vietnam privately express anxieties about the war going off course. "They see Vietnam as the paradigm: the war doesn't end quickly, home-front support erodes, a lot of people are killed, the Army is racked by internal dissension," says Moskos, who interviewed troops in the field late last year. Younger officers, with an image of Vietnam formed by books, television, movies and dinner-table histories provided by military parents, are more gung-ho—perhaps naively so. West Point has no Vietnam history course in its required curriculum. An elective, "Korea, Vietnam and the American Military Experience," covers the Indochinese conflict in seven lessons. This year's primary text was written by Lt. Gen. Phillip Davidson Jr., Gen. William Westmoreland's chief intelligence officer.

For Bush, Powell, Schwarzkopf and other architects of Desert Storm, the specter of a Vietnam-like slippage in support from an impatient public undoubtedly looms large. Critics wonder if it may compel the premature opening of a bloody ground offensive—when a more methodical air campaign might ultimately reduce American deaths. "[Military leaders] face a very deep dilemma. They want the war to be over quickly, but they also want to have minimum casualties. Those are conflicting objectives," says Joshua Epstein, a military analyst at the Brookings Institution. "I think they're betting that fewer casualties, and a longer war, would be worse for public support."

It would be unfair to suggest that hunger to redeem the collective military honor will eclipse the better judgment of Desert Storm's command. "Nobody who has seen the guy next to him decapitated by a piece of metal is going to see this as an opportunity to cleanse the institution of some perceived shortcomings," says Robert Griffith, a historian and former armored-cavalry platoon leader. If the road to Kuwait City puts a few more miles between the American warrior and his Vietnam nightmare, it will be the realization of an important mission. In the end, though, this war is certain to lead to its own irredeemable horrors.

Bill Turkey



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'In the DNA': Removing wounded troops from battle in Vietnam

serted, "cannot be scored every evening like a college track meet or a basketball tournament."

But in their self-consciousness about Vietnam, Bush and his generals are marketing a pernicious myth. The implication that Vietnam was lost because politicians wouldn't unleash the military to pursue a victory overflies an important reality: lack of deep-seated support from the South Vietnamese. Massive force, dispatched to Southeast Asia in the early 1960s to decapitate North Vietnam, may have prevented the war as we came to know it. But many historians now believe it could only have been a temporary obstacle. "I don't think we really could have held South Vietnam indefinitely," says Russell Weigley, a military historian at Temple University. "We were building on quicksand there."

While strategy, tactics and terrain are vastly different in the gulf war, Vietnam remains the emotional template for many senior officers on the ground in Saudi Arabia. Despite the public displays of bra-

How Far Will Gorbachev Go?

The Baltic crisis threatens U.S.-Soviet relations

Mikhail Gorbachev called a timeout in his Baltic brinkmanship last week. Worldwide criticism of the brutal crackdown in Lithuania and Latvia had stung the Soviet president, and hundreds of thousands of Muscovites had marched to the Kremlin wall chanting "Hands off Lithuania!" and "Dictatorship shall not pass!" Looking weary, Gorbachev told a Moscow news conference that he was ordering a thorough investigation of the attack by tanks and troops that killed at least 17 people in Vilnius and Riga during the two previous weekends. He demanded that "commanders at all levels" improve discipline, and he denied that he had abandoned his campaign for liberalism and reform. "I resolutely reject any speculation, suspicions and slanders on this score," he declared. At the same time, he accused the independence-minded Baltic republics of "trampling the Constitution," and the Kremlin later announced that Soviet Army troops would join police in patrolling major cities.

Gorbachev meant to reassure the West that the Soviet Union was not sliding back into totalitarianism. George Bush is scheduled to go to Moscow for a summit meeting with Gorbachev Feb. 11-13. Soviet officials expressed hopes that the summit and superpower détente were still on track despite the gulf war, snags in the strategic arms talks and the Baltic crackdown. The new Soviet foreign minister, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, flew to Washington to deliver that message—and to help steer U.S.-Soviet relations through one of the roughest patches of the Gorbachev era. Bush has hesitated to do anything that might harm the Soviet leader politically, and the impulse at the White House was to delay the summit but cite the war and problems over the strategic arms agreement as reasons, rather than linking the move to the Baltics.

The long-simmering Baltic crisis turned violent on Jan. 13 when Soviet troops stormed Lithuania's broadcasting center in Vilnius, killing at least 13 people. A week later Soviet "black beret" troops—a militia organized by Moscow and made up heavily of veterans of the war in Afghani-

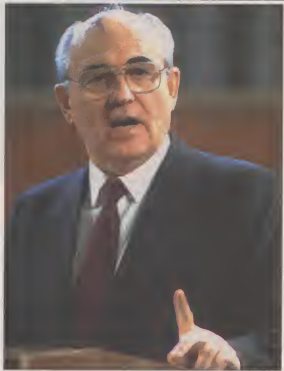
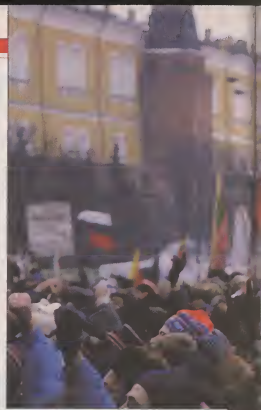
stan—shot their way into Latvia's Interior Ministry in Riga. Four people, including Andris Slapins, a 48-year-old Latvian director filming the attack, were killed.

In Lithuania, the mood was somber. There was a flicker of violence: Soviet troops occupied a printing warehouse and shot a civilian on a highway outside Vilnius. Neither side seemed willing to compromise. Moscow still demanded that Lithuania repeal its "anticonstitutional" declaration of independence. The republic's government insisted that Soviet troops vacate the buildings they occupy in Vilnius. "There is no more middle ground," said Gediminas Kirkilas, deputy chairman of the Democratic Labor Party, Lithuania's former Communist Party. "We've gotten ourselves even deeper into a political dead end."

Game plan: When Soviet authorities cracked down on the independence movement in Latvia, they followed much the same game plan as in Lithuania. A shadowy "committee for social salvation"—a front for the local Communist Party—suddenly materialized and announced that it was disbanding the republic's elected government and parliament. Then a 50-man squad of black berets attacked Riga's Interior Ministry. In a gun battle that lit up the sky with tracer bullets, the black berets shot their way into the building. "I thought no one would come out alive," said Deputy Interior Minister Zenons Indrikovs, who phoned for help as bullets flew past his head. "But they made no demands. This was just a show of force."

The 120-man black-beret detachment in Riga was confined to barracks last week, but few Latvians thought it would stay there. Although the Soviet Interior Ministry established black-beret units in 1980, ostensibly to combat organized crime, Latvian leaders believe the force's

real mission is to put down nascent democracies. A Soviet Army colonel who is a consultant to the Russian parliament agrees. "Moscow is creating special takeover units among the black berets across the country," he said. "Forty people in each division will cut phone lines and take over buildings. It's the Riga scenario, but it will be repeated in each major city across the Soviet Union." That strategy fits neatly with the new army-police pa-



LID HUNG SHING—AP

Weary: The president announces an investigation



'Hands off Lithuania': Protesters at the Kremlin portray Gorbachev as a Stalinist for his crackdown in the Baltics

VLASTIMIR SHONE—GAMMA-LIAISON



FASCAL LE SGURETAIN—SYGMA

Somber: Lithuanians guard the parliament building in Vilnius against attack

trols, which Moscow said would be used in large Soviet cities as of Feb. 1—"when the situation becomes complicated." The measure allows the military to keep closer tabs on police, who in some republics have shifted loyalties from Moscow to their independence movements.

Gorbachev has denied personal responsibility for the bloodshed in the Baltics, though he gave his military commanders in the region the right to use force. In early

January, aides to the Soviet president told *Newsweek*, they heard him tell military authorities, "If the situation gets out of hand, you can move in to establish order, but I don't want any casualties."

The black berets may have been goaded to act by hard-liners in the Baltics. In a taped confession made available to *Newsweek*, a black beret named Gherman Glazov, who defected to Latvian officials, alleged that he and his comrades in Riga had

been bought off by the Latvian Communist Party. "The word is that the Communist Party is paying berets as much as 1,000 rubles a month," Glazov claimed. He said that KGB officials and a former Latvian interior minister had visited the black-beret barracks in Riga to discuss operations. The troops were worked up into a frenzy by their commander, who told them they were about to be attacked by Latvians and urged them to strike first.

Not easy: Some Soviet progressives believe only pressure from the West can make Gorbachev return to the liberalism he once championed. They hope Bush will postpone next month's summit. The decision is not that easy. The president wants to prevent any deterioration in his relationship with the Soviet leader, especially at a time when Moscow is supporting the U.S.-led coalition in the gulf war. But that backing is entirely nonmilitary, and Gorbachev is unlikely to withdraw his political support because he has his own stake in cooperation with the West. He must out the Soviet military budget if he is to proceed with economic reform, and he needs Western aid. "For domestic and international reasons we want the summit to take place," said an aide to the Soviet president. "It would be a blow to Gorbachev's prestige if it doesn't." In this game, Bush holds some strong cards—if he is willing to play them.

ANGUS DEMING with FRED COLEMAN in Moscow, CARROLL BOGERT in Vilnius, ELIZABETH TUCKER in Riga and ANN MCDANIEL in Washington

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Turning Labs Into Cedar Chests

Alchemy, Stanford style

For Stanford University, a \$690 cedar closet and a 72-foot yacht called Victoria have become symbols as embarrassing as the Pentagon's \$7,600 coffee maker and \$436 hammer. Last week, after inquiries from three separate federal investigations, president Donald Kennedy announced that the school would repay the federal government \$500,000 in research funds that never reached a laboratory. Instead, that money was spent on maintaining three campus residences, including the cedar closet for Kennedy's home, \$2,070 for antiques and \$575 to help refurbish a grand piano. These would be embarrassing admissions at any time. They were acutely felt last week because they came on the heels of Stanford's decision last December to pay \$184,286 for improper depreciation costs taken for the Victoria. Kennedy knew that the funds were being used at his residence but insists the spending was proper because meetings related to research were frequently held in the building. He blames the Victoria problem on an accounting error. To prevent further mistakes, he pledged to tighten up university practices.

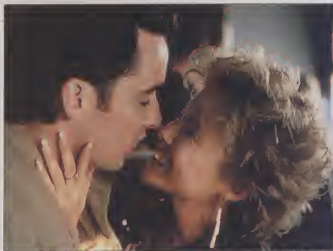
'Black hole': Stanford's troubles last week involve the nebulous area of overhead costs. Universities are allowed to charge the government not only for direct costs like salaries and laboratory equipment, but also indirect costs ranging from electricity to grounds maintenance. Stanford broadly interprets this mandate; over the last 10 years the university charged \$554 million to overhead from the \$1.7 billion in federal research money it received—one of the highest percentages in the nation. Stanford's researchers have long complained that they don't benefit from the huge overhead costs. Sitting in offices with unwashed windows and inadequate secretarial help, the faculty could never figure out where the money was going, says William Spicer, professor of engineering at Stanford: "It was sort of disappearing into a black hole."

The mystery was solved by Paul Biddle, a dogged certified public accountant, who started questioning the overhead charges on behalf of the federal watchdog Office of Naval Research in 1988. Congressional investigators say there are still disputed charges of up to \$200 million that will be aired at a public hearing in the spring. And they promise to probe other schools, too, where research became a luxury item. ■

Con-Artist Classic

An indelible mug shot of hard-boiled scammers

The art of the con man is the art of confidence: to pull off a scam you not only have to gain the confidence of the one you're swindling; you have to radiate confidence yourself. **The Grifters**, taken from the 1963 Jim Thompson novel, is about three small-time con artists so steeped in the art of deception they can't see how they've conned themselves. Like junkies, they're hooked on the grift—it gives them an almost sexual rush—but they keep telling themselves they can pull out whenever they want and go straight. But without their cons, Lily Dillon (Anjelica Huston), her son Roy Dillon (Matt



PHOTOS BY SUZANNE HANOVER

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Stephen Frears's memorable, invigoratingly unsentimental movie unfolds with a brash confidence of its own. Frears showed his flair for film noir in "Gumshoe" (1971), and his mastery of complex tones in movies as diverse as "My Beautiful Laundrette" and "Dangerous Liaisons."

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Famously Fatal

When Lily Dillon first shows up in her ratty L.A. rented room, you know she's really his mother. When he was born, and he's a con man, posing to the matchbook salesman. He's a bedmate Myra what he's smart enough not to risk, big-buck investments—thinks he's got it stuff to be her new while Lily, with the rest of her limited maternal instincts, wants him to give rift. These two predators—who in Roy's come very much the man—engage in a vulture for his soul, which rather not share with but he's no match for *mes fatales*: the way he's not even the most lids are barred.

has already won two ards, and with good

reason. One's created an indelible monster, at once pitiable and scary—a peroxidized, debased Medea. Huston dominates the film, but Bening, an effervescent sex kitten with the soul of a snake, and Cusack, with his brittle self-protectiveness, are spectacular in their own ways. These doomed grifters deserve instant admission into the film noir pantheon.

DAVID ANSEN

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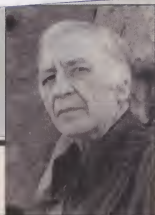
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David Lynch's "Wild at Heart," based on a novel by Thompson fan Barry Gifford. Thompson's "amazing" revival "fits Jim's view of life," said "Grifters" screenwriter Donald E. Westlake. "He gets his 15 minutes of fame 13 years after his death."

MALCOLM JONES JR.

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Since then a new generation has discovered the fur-



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EDUCATION

Turning Labs Into Cedar Chests

Alchemy, Stanford style

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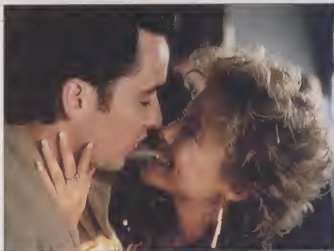
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PHOTOS BY SUZANNE HANOVER



A tainted triangle: Cusack and Bening (left), Huston

potentates of their sordid kingdoms.

Stephen Frears's memorable, invigoratingly unsentimental movie unfolds with a brash confidence of its own. Frears showed his flair for film noir in "Gumshoe" (1971), and his mastery of complex tones in movies as diverse as "My Beautiful Laundrette" and "Dangerous Liaisons." The bouncy, sardonic Elmer Bernstein score gives us our first clue to the spin Frears is putting on a classic film noir form: we're invited, at first, to relish the black-comic heartlessness of Thompson's seedy characters, who seem suspended in time between their '40s prototypes and the '90s setting. Full of wonderfully stylized Donald Westlake dialogue that falls just short of camp, "The Grifters" doesn't ask you to like these three scam-

mers, but their conniving chutzpah is mesmerizing. You roll along with the film's jaunty, amoral energy and then Frears gives you something more—a kick in the stomach that turns pulp into tragedy and leaves you slightly stunned.

Femmes fatales: When Lily Dillon first shows up at Roy's ratty L.A. rented room, you're not sure if she's really his mother. She was only 14 when he was born, and he's never forgiven her for neglecting him. A smart kid, he's squandered his life as a penny-ante "short con" man, posing to the outside world as a matchbook salesman. He doesn't even tell his bedmate Myra what he really does, but she's smart enough not to believe his cover. Myra, a veteran of the "long con"—high risk, big-buck investment scams—thinks he's got the right stuff to be her new partner, while Lily, with the remnants of her limited maternal instincts, wants him to give up the grift. These two predatory women—who in Roy's mind become very much the same woman—engage in a vicious battle for his soul, which he would rather not share with anyone. But he's no match for these *femmes fatales*: the way they play, not even the most primal holds are barred.

Huston has already won two critics' awards, and with good reason. She's created an indelible monster, at once pitiable and scary—a peroxidized, debased Medea. Huston dominates the film, but Bening, an effervescent sex kitten with the soul of a snake, and Cusack, with his brittle self-protectiveness, are spectacular in their own ways. These doomed grifters deserve instant admission into the film noir pantheon.

DAVID ANSEN

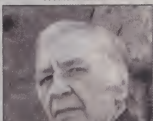
Furtive Pleasures From a Pulp Master

Paperback pulp thrillers had their heyday in the 1950s. These were unsavory tales of men who talked with their fists and women who gave those fists something to talk about. Jim Thompson's dour, bitterly funny stories of born losers and psycho cretins sold the best of all. Thompson didn't buy the boosterish optimism of the postwar years and neither, apparently, did his many readers. But when the pulp market dried up, about the time cheap hotels installed TVs in their lobbies, Thompson's fortunes faded. When he died at 70 in 1977, none of his 29 books was in print.

Since then a new generation has discovered the fur-

tive pleasures of such books as "The Grifters" and "A Swell-Looking Babe." Creative Arts, a small publisher, began reissuing Thompson's titles and those of Charles Williams and Charles Willeford in the mid-'80s. Last year Vintage Books folded that series into its crime-fiction line, putting the pulp writers on

Bitterly funny: Thompson
COURTESY THOMPSON FAMILY

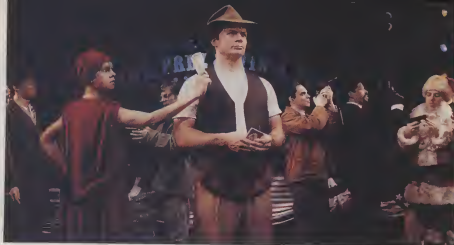


the same shelf with Hammett and Chandler.

Hollywood, too, has rekindled its romance with the pulps. Besides "The Grifters," there have been two other recent Thompson-based movies ("After Dark, My Sweet," "The Kill-Off") and films of books by Williams ("Dead Calm," "The Hot Spot") and Willeford ("Miami Blues")—not to mention David Lynch's "Wild at Heart," based on a novel by Thompson fan Barry Gifford.

Thompson's "amazing" revival "fits Jim's view of life," said "Grifters" screenwriter Donald E. Westlake. "He gets his 15 minutes of fame 13 years after his death."

MALCOLM JONES JR.



A shooting gallery of presidential targets: The cast of *Assassins* loads up

MARTHA SWOPE

THEATER

The Killing of Presidents

Sondheim's new musical probes America's dark side

HIT THE PREZ AND WIN A PRIZE reads the sign over a carnival shooting gallery. The targets are portraits of all the U.S. presidents, and the "customers" are all people who've killed, or tried to kill, the chief executive. This is the opening scene in Stephen Sondheim's new musical, *Assassins*, the most audacious, far out and grotesque work in his career. With book writer John Weidman, Sondheim has written a show that will disturb many, enrage some and even move others.

The "heroes" of *Assassins* are John Wilkes Booth, who killed Lincoln in 1865; Charles Guiteau, whose victim in 1881 was Garfield; Leon Czolgosz, who murdered McKinley in 1901; Guiseppe Zangara, who tried to assassinate Roosevelt in 1933; Kennedy's killer Lee Harvey Oswald; Samuel Byck, who tried to kill Nixon in 1974; Lynette (Squeaky) Fromme and Sara Jane Moore, who made attempts on Ford in 1975, and John Hinckley, who shot Reagan in 1981. Cataloged so baldly, the frequency of assaults on our presidents is startling, and *Assassins* asks "Why?"

But—a musical? Of course, Sondheim would write a musical about amoebas, or aardvarks. His assassins are acts in a horrific vaudeville of American pathology. The "pioneer" is Booth, the Shakespearean actor who after dispatching Lincoln turns up as a kind of dark angel of assassination. Sitting in a saloon reading *Variety*, Booth advises Zangara that the best way to cure his stomach trouble is to kill FDR. This black comedy is topped by Squeaky Fromme, one of Charles Manson's girls, and housewife Sara Moore, who outstumble Ford himself, succeeding only in killing a pet dog. Sam Byck tapes an insanely angry (and funny) message to Leonard

Bernstein, explaining his plan to kill Nixon by crashing a jetliner on the White House. The megalomaniac Guiteau shoots Garfield, crying out, "I want to be ambassador to France!" At the climax all the other assassins show up at the Texas School Book Depository, begging Oswald to "empower" them—redeem their place in history—by killing JFK.

Social anger: You can swallow the savage comedy, but not the show's moral fuzziness. Czolgosz, a poor worker, kills McKinley out of social anger, but most of the others are psychopaths pure if not simple. Linking them with an anthem, sung by an omnipresent Balladeer, about how "Everybody's got the right to their dreams" is a pretty pathetic rationale for the complex questions that Sondheim does raise. Nor has Sondheim found an effective musical voice for his assassins. The show calls for the indelible melodic shapes and angles of a Kurt Weill, or of Sondheim himself in "Sweeney Todd." The song that Hinckley sings to his dream girl, Jodie Foster, should be crazily moving, not just a flat parody of smoochy sentimentality.

The first Sondheim show to officially open off-Broadway, *Assassins* has been brilliantly directed by Jerry Zaks at Playwrights Horizons, where the small stage expands with theatrical energy and the remarkable set designs of Loren Sherman. The cast is tight, sharp, fiercely funny—notably Lee Wilkof's frightening Byck, Annie Golden's madly masochistic Squeaky and Jonathan Hadary's grandiloquent Guiteau. Hadary's song and dance on the gallows is the one place where everything comes together in a bloodcurdling irony beyond politics and pathology.

JACK KROLL

Keeping It All in the Family

The real star of the superb London production of Chekhov's *Three Sisters* is not the trinity of Redgraves—sisters Vanessa and Lynn and their niece Jemma—but Robert Sturua, the director. Sturua is the artistic director of the Rustaveli Theatre in Soviet Georgia, renowned not for Chekhov but for Shakespeare. Chekhov is not popular in Georgia, whose people emphasize that they are not Russians. "Georgians are much closer to Shakespeare than to Chekhov," a Rustaveli official told me two years ago in Tbilisi, the Georgian capital. "There are more Hamlets in Georgia than Mashas." It's fascinating that Sturua chose this period of conflict, during which Soviet tanks have rumbled past the beautiful Rustaveli Theatre, to direct his first Chekhov.

Look, Sturua seems to say, Russia's greatest playwright sees his countrymen as dreamers, nihilists, dangerous romantics. In their provincial backwater the unmarried Olga (Vanessa), the badly married Masha (Lynn) and the not-to-be-married Irena (Jemma) live thwarted lives. They create an illusion of cultivated society with the Army officers who pass through the town, leaving spiritual desolation behind them. The Redgraves are stars who don't do star turns; they are the key players in Chekhov's symphony of lyrical hysteria. These sisters in terlace like three wounded graces. At one point Jemma's Irena sits down in an empty suitcase—a soul in transit to oblivion. With such touches Sturua fuses the comic and tragic. Some of his fuses blow, but most light up a masterpiece. This is a light that would electrify Broadway.

J. K. in London



ALASTAIR MUIR

Wounded graces: Vanessa, Lynn, Jemma



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BOB D'AMICO—CAPITAL CITIES-ABC

Out of the fog of another war, unsettling echoes: Cole as Custer leads his doomed band

TELEVISION

Custer Rides the Airwaves

An ABC mini-series revisits a legendary disaster

Once in a millennium, a mini-series drawn from the past finds itself threatened by the emotional reverberations of present events. ABC's "Son of the Morning Star," which disinters Custer's debacle at the Little Bighorn, is that mini-series. Think about it: who wants to watch the bloody annihilation of a U.S. assault force by an adversary who had been overconfidently underestimated? Sounds like an all-too-timely bummer, yes? Actually, it's anything but, and that's because this military saga plays by the right book. Written by Evan S. Connell in 1984, "Son of the Morning Star" was lauded by critics as "monumental," "a new American classic" and "the modern equivalent of a biblical work of witness." Though the four-hour adaptation, which airs on Feb. 3 and 4, doesn't reach those heights, it's packed with vivid characterizations, crisp dialogue and hauntingly evocative effects. In fact, this living-room war almost helps you forget the real one. Almost.

The mini-series makes one major detour from its literary source. It is alternately narrated by the voices of Elizabeth Custer, the general's adoring wife, and Kate Bighead, an Indian woman who allegedly witnessed his early triumphs. The device seems a shamelessly transparent bid to lure female viewers, and it's hardly the only one. Ten minutes into the story, Gary Cole (Custer) and Rosanna Arquette (Eliza-

beth) writhe through a bedroom scene so leeringly staged it could be a sendup of "Dallas." Later, Kate Bighead treats us to a discourse on Sioux mating customs climaxed by a cutesy scene in which Crazy Horse gets plugged by his lover's jealous husband in his own tepee. Tee-hee.

Mercifully, though, the mini-series soon catches its stride, capturing the epic sweep of the Plains Indian Wars with scrupulous authenticity. Filmed on location in Montana, "Son of the Morning Star" (the name the Crows bestowed on Custer for his frequent attacks at dawn) uses real Native Americans speaking in their own languages for every Native American role; voice-overs handle the translations. All their cultural trappings—costumes, make-up, weaponry, village life, even the glass beads they bartered for—emerge from history through meticulously exact research. This may be the grisliest production ever telecast. It displays a near-obsessive fascination with scalp removals, dismemberments and other sanguinary doings. Then again, so did Connell's book.

Basically, however, the mini-series is a character study, and they don't come any more complex. Gary Cole ("Fatal Vision," "Midnight Caller") gives us an almost pathologically contradictory Custer. We meet George the Despot, flogging and even branding his men for minor infractions; George the Romantic, risking court-

martial to steal a brief night with his wife; George the Vain, primping his locks before a mirror with the care of a teenager on prom night, and George the Fearless, leading 225 troopers against an encampment of some 10,000 hostiles by whooping, "Boys, we've caught 'em napping!" The same man who casually caused the butchering of Indian women and children put his career on the line by defending his adversaries against abuses by well-connected war profiteers. In the end, Cole's Custer remains an enigma, yet at least he's more interesting than Errol Flynn's cartoonish swashbuckler in "They Died With Their Boots On" (and infinitely preferable to Ronald Reagan's lovelorn simp in "Sante Fe Trail").

As for the film's treatment of the Native American, it's nothing if not politically correct. In that sense, this is "Dances With Wolves" without Kevin Costner (who reportedly campaigned for the lead role when the project was in development at another network). The Indians even get most of the best lines. Arriving for a White House pow-wow, Chief Red Cloud is invited by President Grant to "set" in a chair. "I come from where the sun sets," he ripostes, plopping onto the floor. "You were raised on chairs." The meeting never recovers.

Pierced eardrums: There are some mini-series, and this is one, in which small, human moments leave the most indelible impressions. Boyish members of Custer's Seventh Cavalry play a rollicking baseball game on the vast plains and gallop to their deaths flaunting straw hats purchased on the steamer that carried them west. Following the Little Bighorn massacre, an equally young brave hesitantly saws off a scalp, gulps and retches into the grass. Nearby, elderly Cheyenne women silently strip uniforms from the corpses. Coming upon Custer, two of them—recalling that he had been warned not to war on them—gently pierce his eardrums with sewing awls to improve his hearing in the next world.

Though hundreds of books have tried to explain it, no one really knows how Custer got himself into his legendary fix or what actually happened on that sweltering June day in 1876. But as this TV account makes ironically clear, Custer's "last stand" applied to his conquerors as well. The massacre became a catalyst for the white man's ruthless extermination of Native Americans in the years to come. That, in turn, suggests a second irony. According to the mini-series, President Grant ordered the destruction of the Indians' war machine, after earlier proclaiming—in words hauntingly similar to those of a contemporary president—that the world was "on the eve of a new harmony." Like we said, "Son of the Morning Star" reeks with reverberations. But don't let that deter you from auditing this enthralling history course.

HARRY F. WATERS



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Station Identification

Manhattan commuters at Grand Central Terminal stopped in their tracks one night last week. In a "day of desperation" demonstration for AIDS research funds, hundreds of activists from AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP) covered ticket windows with paper and held a lie-in on the station floor. ACT-UP members also broke up network news, chaining themselves to a desk at PBS and chanting "Fight AIDS, not Arabs" on CBS's "Evening News." They didn't get through at NBC and left ABC alone because, a member said, anchorman Peter Jennings "has made AIDS a personal crusade."



Flooring commuters: ACT-UP demonstrators at Grand Central

VIVIANE MOOS—PHOTOREPORTERS

TRANSITION

DISCLOSED: A suicide attempt by actor **Robert Young**, 83; by the Los Angeles County Sheriff's office, Jan. 20. Young, known for his roles in the television series "Father Knows Best" and "Marcus Welby, M.D.," tried to poison himself with carbon monoxide at his home near L.A. on Jan. 12 by running a hose inside his car from the exhaust pipe. He was unable to start the car due to a dead battery and called a tow truck, whose driver saw the hose and contacted authorities.

DIED: **Curtis Child**, 14; **Jimmie Boyd Jr.**, 14, and **Elizabeth Glausi**, 19; after being crushed at an AC/DC concert, in Salt Lake City, Utah, Jan. 18. When the heavy-metal band began to play at the Salt Palace, thousands of fans, who were allowed to roam freely on the arena floor, surged toward the stage. Child, Boyd and Glausi were trampled and suffocated. Witnesses reported that despite chants of "Stop the concert" and gestures from a guard, the band played on. The group said that once they learned the "gravity of the situation," they stopped performing. The show resumed after AC/DC consulted with arena officials, who decided that canceling would create further safety problems. Salt Lake County attorneys are now investigating.

Canadian literary critic **Norther Frye**, 78; of cardiac arrest, in Toronto, Jan. 23. Frye was best known for his studies of symbolism and myth as the unifying models of Western literature. His major works included "Fearful Symmetry," a study of the writings of William Blake, and "Anatomy of Criticism," considered a standard reference.

Juliet Man Ray, 79; of a heart attack, in Huntington, N.Y., Jan. 17. She was married to the painter and photographer Man Ray for 30 years and often served as a model for his later portraits.

Good Sport Down Under

It's unbelievable company to be in," said Patrick McEnroe, sounding like an Oscar nominee. An unseeded player at the Australian Open, he kept company last week in the semifinals with Boris Becker, Ivan Lendl and Stefan Edberg. Deviating from the example set by big bad brother John, McEnroe took his four-set loss to Becker cheerfully. Becker went on to win the title.



Courtesy courtesy: McEnroe

AFP



RAY FAIRALL—PHOTOREPORTERS

No time to travel: Bergalis

Cold Comfort

Victory can have a terrible price. Last week Kimberly Bergalis, 23, a Florida woman who probably contracted AIDS while being treated by her infected dentist, won a million-dollar settlement from his insurer. Her parents urged her to do "something crazy" with some of the money. Bergalis longs to travel to "places I haven't seen," including her ancestors' land, Lithuania. But, she says, "I don't think this is quite the right time."

KATRINE AMES



MICHAEL BRENNAN—PHOTOREPORTERS

A fifth of Foreman: Two Georges

Boxer Shorts

George V isn't just a dead king of England and a tony Paris hotel—he's also George Foreman's infant son. In a move Gertrude Stein might have applauded, the heavyweight contender dubbed his new baby George V: he joins three older brothers, George II, III and IV. Last week George I, who meets Evander Holyfield in a championship bout in April, showed off his fighting form and his latest heir. "We're gonna call this one Red," he said, "because you know what green means—keep going."

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The One Man Enemy



By virtue of his cruel aggression, Saddam deserves demonization, but he is not the whole problem

Military people, I have noticed, habitually refer to the enemy as "he." They even do so when there is no particular "he" to refer to. "Now he could send his reinforcements around this way," says the briefer at the map, talking about the government or military of some country whose paramount leader's name we hardly know, "but we could intercept him here . . ." etc. This is one of the few areas in which, I believe, the gender-neutrality issue has not been raised: the question is not why the formulation is not he-or-she, but rather why it is so personalized and particularized, as if describing a fight between two individual men. To see things in this oddly foreshortened way can distort judgment and invite disastrously wrong actions.

I will concede that intellectually overdaunt types, such as myself, don't even care for the term "enemy," no matter what the offense of those so designated or the degree of our own animosity toward them. We are made uneasy by a concept that seems too inclusive, final and inflammatory. And so we are forever mousing around about the "other side" (which implies that it has its own valid argument when it may not) or, pushed a little farther, the "adversary" (which concedes there is a dispute, but takes no sides). The danger here, of course, is that of cop-out, that we will formulate conflict in a way that makes the reaching of moral judgments not just impossible but also, conveniently, unnecessary. This is phony business, but it is not the main danger in this country at the moment. For we now have both an enemy and a "he," the Iraqi forces we are fighting in the gulf and their leader the unspeakable Saddam Hussein. And it matters how we think about them, the voice we give to our feelings and the consequent influence we have on our own government's actions.

My own sentiments are these: (1) We are far from being the first country in history to individualize and demonize the wartime enemy, although our leaders have demonstrated a kind of penchant for becoming obsessed by their individual antagonists (Castro, Noriega, Khomeini). (2) A certain esprit and sense of solidarity can be strengthened by defining the conflict this way, especially when ridicule of the loathed one is involved—from the Spike Jones lyrics of World War II about spitting in "der führer's face" to the ayatollah dartboards of the '80s, this has been true. (3) Certainly Saddam Hussein, by virtue of his documented atrocities and his overt aggression over the years, invites demonization and qualifies for designation as something less gummy than the "adversary" or the "other side." (4) All

this must nevertheless be watched—it can lead us to see one man as the source of all our problems and/or to project his sins upon all those of a similar racial or ethnic character.

As a child of World War II, I was susceptible to the propaganda that depicted the Japanese prime minister, Hideki Tojo, as a subhuman monster and went on from that to project onto all Japanese a kind of mutant monkey's nature. Likewise, the portrayal of Mussolini extended to the defamation of all Italians as ludicrous cowards, and so on. We should be very careful not to let this happen in relation to Saddam Hussein and his Iraqi population. At some point our government may need to make really hard calculations concerning the amount of aerial pummeling it will administer in Iraq. The national mind-set at that moment should not be one that considers the Iraqis a nation of expendable subhumans.

In fact, this is probably less of a likelihood now than the opposite (equally undesirable) instinct to locate the source of the trouble exclusively in this one man—another upshot of the overly personalized national conflict. The reason I think it is less likely is that as a result of revolutionized travel and communications and also of our own searing national experiences at home and abroad since World War II, we are as a nation much more skeptical and sophisticated and much less given to mindless group stereotyping. Too many people in this country have seen too much and heard too much in the past couple of traumatized decades to come at any national or international issue with a headful of the simple racist or chauvinist imperatives that motivated some before.

A theory: The single-bad-man theory, on the other hand, a kind of work-of-freaks theory of history, has always had a particular hold on us. It helps us to explain away trouble as an isolated quirk of history: We know how nice and well-meaning we are and so must everyone else (because they, of course, are nice and well-meaning too, as all people are) and therefore it is just the manipulations of this one really bad actor that have created all the—yes—misunderstanding. The implication of this reading is not just that things would be better, but that all would be well if we could only get rid of the troublemaker. That has, as we all recall, been tried by our government in the fairly recent past, and it is currently forbidden. As a result, it seems our government cannot try to remove a foreign leader with a handgun, but may use a B-52. The president claims we are not trying to get rid of Saddam Hussein, but what else can he claim?

The Iraqi president, with his cult of personality, his octopus of secret police and his uncontested reputation for ruthlessness and willingness to employ any weapon, not to mention his clearly aggressive ambitions in a region of huge importance to the whole world, has surely qualified for enmity. When there is no Saddam Hussein sitting astride an arsenal of chemical and prospective nuclear weapons and at the helm of a gigantic army, most of the world will be better off. But by now we should have learned that no matter how much terror bolsters their rule, these enemies of ours are not just loners; they represent at least an element of their own population and the problem does not necessarily disappear or die with them.

We are fighting more than one man. And our success will be met with less than universal joy in the region. The American government that for so long coozied up to Saddam Hussein in order to balance off other demons and dangers knows better than any of us that he is not the beginning and the end and does not wholly define the trouble there. Rallying a population to imagine otherwise could lead to a terrible crash in the end.



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